

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XX.



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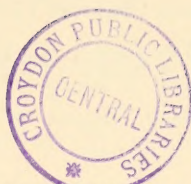


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T. RICHARDS, 27, GREAT QUEEN STREET. W.C.



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British Archaeological Association.

MARCH 1864.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE CONGRESS HELD AT LEEDS, Oct. 1863.

BY THE LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., ETC., PRESIDENT.

THE Society which I have the honour to address, and which several of you for the first time have the pleasure to meet, has been established now for many years. It has the tripartite purpose of holding meetings in the Metropolis, usually twice a month, of persons interested in antiquarian pursuits; of publishing the results of their investigations in an accurate and agreeable form; and of making an annual collective visit to some part of the country rich in the relics of the past and favourable to historical associations. This was the original Society from which the Archæological Institute separated itself some time ago; but this England of ours is quite broad enough, and quite full enough of monuments and of memories for the two bodies to flourish side by side in a concurrence of mutual service and general utility.

It has been the custom for the local President to commence these meetings with an Inaugural Address, frequently embodying the most interesting facts and circumstances of the antiquities of a particular district, giving, as it were, a prefatory index to the proceedings of the Society during the provincial Congress, and offering to the inhabitants of the county or neighbourhood an intelligent synopsis of the objects which a student of the past and a lover of his country should not overlook, and which, though sometimes in themselves unattractive and minute, are nevertheless the

top-roots of serious historical inquiry, or the links in some important chain of evidence. Such a function has been well performed for the county of Nottingham by that cultivated and sagacious minister, the Duke of Newcastle: for Shropshire by Mr. Beriah Botfield, a gentleman of much literary taste, who devoted his wealth in a munificent manner to intellectual enterprises and whose recent loss we sincerely regret: and for Berkshire by the Earl of Carnarvon, the delivery of whose address is stated to me to have been one of the most singular efforts of intelligent learning and accurate memory ever exhibited to a public assembly.

When, therefore, I was called upon to undertake this office, I felt a serious responsibility. Not only would an attempt to compress the history and antiquities of Yorkshire within the limits of an ordinary speech result in the vaguest outline or the dullest nomenclature: not only have several of its most important districts, and among them that which I myself inhabit, been designated by your great antiquary, Mr. Hunter, as *terra incognita*; but I entertain a peculiar dislike to the exhibition of second-hand information, whenever there is a chance or possibility of obtaining it fresh from the source. Now I am especially glad to welcome the members of this Society because they are men who have made these things their particular study, and who have confirmed their knowledge by linguistic science and personal observation. To bring before such an audience any compilation of knowledge, however adroitly arranged or however gracefully expressed, would, it seems to me, be a very superfluous labour and confer little credit on my judgment. But what I can do is to suggest certain trains of thought that may lead you to connect the event of this day not only with personal and local interests, but with principles deep as your own moral nature and speculations vast as the history and destination of mankind.

Each of us stands on a point of time with an eternity on either hand. It is the especial privilege of Man, and sometimes his penalty, to look before and after, to hope and to observe. Archaeology is the study of the positive and material records of the past,—the waifs and strays which the ever on-coming ocean of time leaves behind it,—fragments from rocks of ages, such as a child might gather on the shore, but which, when studied and handled, assimilated

and contrasted, by science, can link on one generation of men to the immense distance behind it; and shew that, limited as are our faculties, and finite our perceptions, we are nevertheless endowed with awful powers of discovery and construction. As Baron Cuvier, the eminent osteologist, was said to be able to devise the whole frame of an extinct animal out of a single bone, so, with no more exaggeration, the true Antiquary may be said to create out of few and scattered materials the real history of the past, as contradistinguished from the fancies of poets or even the theories of philosophers. Geologists are the antiquaries of the planet we inhabit, and in the superposition of strata they trace the succession of periods and the actions of physical force, with a preciseness that no chronicler could attain. The impression of the foot of the gigantic bird discovered in Connecticut establishes the existence of a monster of the air in some primæval world with as much certainty as thrilled the heart of Robinson Crusoe at the sight of the footprint of the savage on the sand; and the sparrows on your house-tops are not more real than the fossil from Bavaria, on which the microscope of Professor Owen has traced the very feathers that floated, it may be, a million years ago.

Again, the Antiquity of the Human Species is at the present moment a subject of lively discussion. From the discovery of some pieces of flint rudely fashioned into implements or instruments of aggression, has been deduced the existence of races endowed with human intelligence, existing coævally with an order of physical forms now totally extinct; and from the piles of the Locustrian villages preserved in the lakes of Switzerland, Denmark, and Scotland,—as are the foundations of Venice in the waters of the Adriatic,—has arisen the conviction of a vast and desert period in the history of our earth, when generations of mankind succeeded one another in savage insignificance, wandering over Europe as the red man of the prairies of America, animated only with the instincts of self-preservation or mutual destruction.

There is another branch of our study which of late years has flourished exceedingly, and promises to bear most substantial fruit. I mean the archæology of language. Languages are audible symbols of the transmission of thought.



in special forms through the successive descendants of the human family; and by their analogies and diversities we trace at once the migrations and connexions of races and even something of the moral and intellectual varieties of the inhabitants of this globe. Some half dozen words are all that is left of the old Etruscan language; only in some few hamlets of the Pyrenees is heard a tongue entirely dissimilar from any that falls on European ears; and yet these few traditionary sounds and letters are sources of deep and useful interest in the study of the ancient history of the populations of Italy and northern Spain.

It is in this point of view that I highly value the retention among us of our provincial dialects, and should regret to see them smelted down into a genteel uniformity of language and pronunciation. The common speech of our separate counties is a continuous testimony of the origin of its people and of their place in the heterogeneous history of the British race. Our good broad Yorkshire indicates the stalwart northern stock from which we have sprung; and when I hear it well out-spoken, either by the ploughman in the field, or by my friend, the Hon. and Rev. Philip Savile, whom I see before me, in all its emphatic vigour, I am almost sorry that it has left the hall, and I hope it will stick to the cottage.

But the immediate objects of this Society are not the archaeology of our earth, our race, or our language. They are simply and purely historical. We shew little favour to theories, even though founded upon a historical basis. We ask for facts and evidence of facts, and we are content to leave to others the responsibility of their own conclusions. Most people of any ingenuity can discover in history whatever they wish to find there; and if you choose to make a bad use of the materials with which we supply you, do it at your own risk, and do not lay the blame on archaeology.

If you wish to be real Antiquaries and to take a sincere pleasure in archaeological science, there are one or two conditions which I now desire to place before you as indispensable for that purpose. You must feel a reverential respect and affectionate regard for the past. This is no common instinct of our nature, inherent in all portions of mankind. The enterprising explorer and delightful writer of travels, Captain Burton, told me he had found many African tribes

who had no perception whatever of any events that lay behind their own personal experience: grandfathers they occasionally remembered, but great-grandfathers were utterly unknown. No man recorded a thought beyond his own limited memory, and even that faculty was never exercised beyond the purposes of the day. Now, in striking contrast to this almost bestial oblivion, we recognise, in nearly all Eastern nations, a profound reverence for all that is passing and past, for the dead and the memories of the dead: not only for the great things that are gone by, but even for that which in itself is mean and trivial and useless, but which, from the very fact of its being gone, seemed to acquire a certain greatness and solemnity. Hence the yearning, as it were, to keep the dead ever existing among them, in defiance of mortal corruption and transitory events; hence the wondrous caves filled with the embalmed remains of men and animals, sculptured with records and brightly painted, but on which no mortal eye was meant to rest; hence the gigantic pyramids of Egypt—that vast necropolis; and hence that unending series of graven archives which of late years has been disinterred by archæological enterprise from the ancient cities, whose names had been hitherto only symbols of mysterious judgments and shadowy images of sacred or mythical history.

The German philosopher, Göthe, somewhere observes, that it seems to him that Providence entrusted the solemn history of the relations of God to Man to the Hebrew people, not because they were wiser or better than other races, but because they possessed such an obstinate adherence to the past and such a persistent love of whatever was connected with themselves, that they would hold and transmit the truth more honestly, and with less admixture of earthly thoughts and fancies, than any other fraction of mankind.

In Greece these feelings associated themselves with those beautiful shapes of sculpture and architecture, which the after world, in its fullest civilisation, has accepted as the loftiest and purest expression of the human imagination, and thus the archæology of Grecian history possesses a distinct and peculiar interest, far more beneficial to mankind—far wider in its influence than any that can be derived from the study of those oriental antiquities, whose sole object seems to have been an obstinate conservation of national life

and peculiar institutions, without any regard to the moral value or the artistic merit of what was to be perpetuated.

We learn, however, to appreciate such a devout antiquarian spirit all the more, when we remember the effects of such barbaric devastations as have made a blank and wilderness between the ancient and the modern world, and when we recognise that fury of destruction which seems to become an instinct of mankind in certain paroxysms of history and to be compatible with high moral purposes and civic virtues. It is the business of the Antiquary to visit all such battle-fields of human interests and passions, and to collect and foster all the fragments of intellectual and artistic life that may yet remain, and this with no sectarian bias or partial tastes. The lover of gothic architecture must rejoice at the discovery of a pagan altar, and the iconoclast Protestant at the excavation of a statue of a Roman saint. There are, alas ! too many incidents of political and religious violence in our own history, which should make us fully appreciate a spirit of cosmopolitan tolerance in rescuing whatever may yet be saved. Of what inestimable price would have been the existence of this feeling at the time of the suppression of monastic houses in England and of the consequent destruction and dispersion of so much literary and historic treasure. In the religious establishments of our own country were preserved chronicles, not only of public events, which are now hopelessly obscure, but private records, personally interesting to families and localities, such as we find in the scanty specimens collected by Dugdale, and which would have enabled many of us to trace up name and land to the very sources of our social and political existence.

I can give you an instance of the deadness of this feeling which prevailed among our upper classes, which regards at once your town and my own ancestors. Thoresby, while engaged in forming that curious and multifarious collection, "*The Museum Thoresbeanum*," makes an entry in his diary of a visit to "*Cousin Rodes*," of Great Houghton (and I am proud of this cousinship with your great antiquary), where he was "*glad of*" a large number of autograph letters of the Earl of Strafford, who had married the sister of his host, and which apparently were handed over to him without the least scruple or interest in their contents. Now, these were

the love-letters and confidential correspondence of the Earl with his wife, who was still living hard by, at her jointure-house of Hooton-Roberts, and who allowed these most private family documents, full of valuable public matter, and throwing much light on the character of the fallen statesman, to be thus summarily disposed of to their inquisitive relative. Among them was the last letter he wrote to her a few days before his execution, and which became by this means, some years ago, an object of lively competition at a public sale. Some few, which Thoresby did not secure, are still in my possession.

But we may judge more leniently than otherwise we should do such indifference and disregard, even of the familiar past, on the part of individuals, when we find no more susceptibility or interest among the conservators of our public records. No country in Europe possesses so continuous, various, and complete a series of documentary annals as Great Britain ; and yet, within my own time, I can remember all these confused and housed together, without selection, in six different depositories, one tenement more exposed than another to the ordinary chances of destruction. At that time all the interesting records of the English Chancery, down to the very earliest periods, were collected in the Tower, contiguous to a steam-engine smoking and snorting under the window, and with a powder-magazine within a short distance. One would have thought that such a reverend body as the Dean and Chapter of Westminster might have shewn a decorous and affectionate solicitude for the wonderful memorials entrusted to their patriotic care. There was the *Domesday Book*, that astonishing example of the spirit of sagacious and accurate administration prevailing amid the tumult of conquest and the confusion of the new settlement of a kingdom ; there was the brief by which Pope Adrian, in his function as Universal Lord, gave Ireland to the dominion of Henry II ; there was the treaty of the Cloth of Gold, sealed with the beautiful signet which Benvenuto Cellini devised for the occasion ; there were the written landmarks of every age of British story, and there, just behind the Chapter-house, was a bakehouse and a washhouse with a large fire continually burning, and menacing this intellectual treasury with annihilation. About the year 1838, a bill was brought

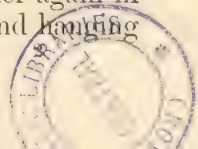
into Parliament for the purpose of building a record office worthy of the country. This was mainly owing to the exertions of a lamented and distinguished friend of mine, the late Mr. Charles Buller, whose memory is still fresh in the political generation to which he belonged, and whose epitaph in Westminster Abbey will transmit to posterity the blighted promise of his public usefulness and private worth. But some ten years were allowed to go by without anything being done in furtherance of this object; and I remember that I frequently interrogated the Home Secretary why this great scandal was allowed to continue, and I was told there was no public money for the purpose. However, owing perhaps to what I and others had said, an extensive and commodious building has lately been erected on the Rolls Estate, near Chancery Lane, and I trust that, in a few years, there may be brought together, and skilfully arranged, that series of antiquarian documents from which the first real history of this country will have to be written.

I fear there are few towns and districts of this country which can join in this condemnation of the central authorities without some self-reproach at their own shortcomings. Even the borough to which I am attached by such close ties of neighbourhood and gratitude could not present itself as wholly blameless, for it allows the very interesting records of its corporation to be bandied about from one solicitor's office to another, with risk of damage; but this comparative carelessness can excite little surprise when we see the administrators of the Duchy of Lancaster, that ancient appanage and productive estate of the Crown, permitting the remains of Pontefract Castle, the great border-fortress and palace of the north, to fall into still more absolute decay, and to be let as a liquorice ground, at thirty pounds a year, instead of being laid out, as it might be, in decent order, and with due care for the preservation of the ruins, to the credit of the Crown and the enjoyment of the inhabitants.

The enthusiasm with which the antiquary collects together the materials for his study, has often been the subject of satire and even of ridicule. Sir Walter Scott, imbued as he was with the truest archaeological spirit, shews in the description of his own Antiquary that he too had not altogether thrown off the eighteenth-century notion, which regarded them, at the best, as harmless monomaniacs :

“I knew Anselmo. He was wise and prudent,
Wisdom and cunning had their shares of him ;
But he was shrewish as a wayward child,
And pleased again by toys which childhood please ;
As, book of fables graced with prints of wood,
Or else the jingling of a rusty medal,
Or the rare melody of some old ditty,
That first was sung to please King Pepin’s cradle.”

For my part, I am inclined to look on the taste for collection as useful in itself, especially for the young. It indicates the love of order and an interest in external objects, both important elements of education. The boy who brings home and arranges his birds’ eggs, and the girl who carefully sets out in a book her specimens of sea-weed, are laying the foundation for a methodical study of natural history. This propensity, of course, will be exercised sensibly or indiscriminately according to the knowledge and the judgment of the collector. A great inclination for amassing certain works of art may be coincident with a period in which art itself has fallen to the lowest level, as was the case with the mania for carved gems in the days of the Lower Roman empire ; or the pleasure of the possession of something rare and wonderful may become so intense as to absorb all other considerations, even that of the authenticity and reality of the object acquired. This perversion was singularly illustrated in the passion for the reliques of the most sacred personages and earliest events of Christian history which at one time pervaded the whole of Europe and even affected religious dogma. Not but that, taken apart from all devout considerations, ecclesiastical reliques may be, in themselves, or in their associations, objects of deep antiquarian interest ; as, for instance, one that fell under my personal observation. At the time of the birth of the Prince Imperial, the son of the Emperor of the French, it was stated in a newspaper that the Emperor had hung something round the neck of the Empress that was supposed to contain a portion of the True Cross. Now I remembered that, when in exile in England, Prince Louis Napoleon had shewn me the jewels he inherited from his uncle. Among these was a carbuncle about the size of a pigeon’s egg, divided for the insertion of a small fragment of wood, and rudely put together again in a fine old Byzantine setting. This jewel was found hanging



round the neck of the Emperor Charlemagne when he was discovered sitting upright, and crowned with the Iron Crown, in his tomb at Aix-la-Chapelle. The crown and the jewel were both taken to Italy and deposited in the church of Monza, near Milan, and thence transferred to Paris after the conquest of Napoleon. When the great despot fell and the nations got their own again, the Crown of the Iron Nails was restored to Lombardy; but the jewel was forgotten, and remained among the private treasures of the emperor, and thus descended to his nephew, who told me that his uncle was supposed to have worn it in several of his most historic engagements. There are few of us who could see without emotion a relique that carries with it so strange and eventful a biography.

But archaeology has a far higher function than the collection of the reliques of the past, or even the maintenance of reverential feelings towards our forefathers and the olden time. It is but an innocent diversion, merely a curious amusement, unless accompanied by a spirit of serious, accurate, and, if need be, merciless criticism. Archaeology is the rectifier of Tradition, whether written or spoken. It must stand between the living and the dead, between the false and the true. The study of History is every day becoming more severely critical. Under its influence familiar names are changing their traditionary characters; and events of which we have been accustomed to talk glibly and confidently are assuming shadowy shapes and refuse to be superficially defined. Niebuhr, Grote, and Arnold, have demolished the academic fabric of current classical history; and a gradual process of transformation is going on in our own annals under the conscientious researches of Tytler, Carlyle, Kingsley, and Froude. These writers have treated history archæologically; letting state papers, acts of parliament, and other documents of different periods, tell their own tale: placing themselves, as far as possible, in the position of the characters they are investigating, and dismissing from their minds judgments that have been framed or accepted by the passions or the prejudices of posterity. Thus, if it turns out that Richard II did not die at Pontefract Castle, but escaped to Scotland, and was buried at Stirling, my old constituents must make up their minds to the loss of their favourite legend. Thus,

if Henry VIII, the founder of our National Church, is proved not to have become a monster of cruelty and lust as soon as he ceased to be an orthodox Roman Catholic, our patriotism and our Protestantism must not think themselves aggrieved; and if Oliver Cromwell, by the fair and careful interpretation of his speeches and letters, stands out as no religious hypocrite or political trickster, we must not regard our acceptance of this fact as any damage to our loyalty or insult to our love of truth. Let us be assured that, although such discoveries may jar immediately on our accustomed beliefs, we shall be the gainers by them in the end; for the critical spirit, dissociated from antiquarian research and feeling, is wholly destructive; and while it shakes to their foundations all edifices of prejudiced fancy and interested opinion, it confounds in the same ruin those tender and serious relations of the past which go so far to mitigate the evils and smooth the difficulties of present existence and form the links of a continuous and progressive humanity. Thus was it with the great cataclysm that overwhelmed France at the end of the last century, the effects of which are still predominant in its mind and in its literature. And only by the inclination towards antiquarian studies, and by the desire of such men as Thierry, Guizot, Martin, and Mignet, to establish the veritable bases of history, has that iconoclast rage been allayed, and the singularly critical faculty of that clear-sighted people been reduced within the limits of its legitimate exercise.¹

I need not press upon your attention the paramount necessity of a laborious investigation of the absolute authenticity of everything that comes within the Antiquary's observation. Outward imposture and inward delusion assume a hundred forms to captivate and cajole him. The scarabæi of the Theban desert are fabricated by the ton at Birmingham; a manufacturer of the flint instruments of primæval mankind has just been committed to prison at Scarborough; and the whole archæological world is at present in full chase after the artificer of the thousands of mediæval leaden images and medals that were said to have been exhumed from the London clay. From the *Martinus Scriblerus* of Pope and the *Marmor Norfolciense* of Dr. Johnson,

¹ I remember a French artisan once saying to me, "Ah, monsieur, c'est si joli de détruire!"

down to the "Hi diddle diddle, the cat and the fiddle," the last exhibition of the genial humour and acute perception of the classical statesman, Sir G. Cornwall Lewis, satiric literature has ever been on the watch for the self-deception of antiquarian erudition. But with a fair amount of learning, a sense of art, and a conscientious study of style in the various productions of sculpture, coins, gems, pottery, mosaics, and mural paintings,—and, above all, with a single-hearted desire for the attainment of truth,—you may disregard the impositions of charlatans and defy the ridicule of poets or philosophers.

I have now attempted to delineate broadly the more important requisites for the secure and successful prosecution of archaeological study and to impress upon you some of its most prominent moral and intellectual advantages. I have a few words yet to say on the locality which our Association has this year selected for the scene of its labours and its pleasures. The immense field of research into the former condition, habits, and character, of our species, which the varied population of these islands at different epochs presents, requires no comment from me; but I may remark that this our county of Yorkshire contains in itself an epitome of the peculiar and changeful fortunes of this soil of England. Here were established for centuries the soldier-colonies of the empire whose seat and centre of power was that very Rome whose destiny still excites a religious and political interest, and of which we were then a distant and humble dependency. Here met, in many a conflict, the Saxon and the Dane,—progenitors of the very races that are now disputing the possession of the north of Germany. Here was the scene of the partition of the very lands that we now cultivate among the chiefs of those Gallicised Northmen whose raid on the coast of Sussex the death of Harold converted into the conquest of England. Such are the memories that will arise before you in the excursions of this week, when, taking your start from the little Saxon kingdom of Elmet, you will traverse in a few hours what would have been many a day's hard journey; and passing from the still bright mosaic pavements of Isurium to the old Castle of Kirkby, which it is probable the De Laeys renamed after their Norman château of Pontfreit; and to the still glorious ruins of ecclesiastical skill and industry in

those then desolate wilds to which the monks of Fountains brought piety and peace. Such of you as will honour me with a visit at Fryston Hall will survey the district which Bishop Tostall, in 1548, riding by the side of King Henry VIII, told him was "the richest that ever he found in all his travels through Europe"; and you will follow the course of the river Aire, of which, at the commencement of the last century, Hadley, the great engineer, spoke as "the noblest river in England not then navigable," but which has since become populous with your mercantile commerce, while I am sorry to say the abundant manufactures on its banks have deprived it of something of its native brightness and purity. I am afraid that the days are past when it was sung how—

"The Castleford lasses are buxom and fair,
For they drink of the Calder and bathe in the Aire."

It is, indeed, only when the wealth and range of the antiquities of Yorkshire are fully estimated, that we comprehend how much is yet to be done, notwithstanding the zeal, devotion, and intelligence, of the many antiquaries of whom we may justly boast. First—not in chronological order, nor perhaps in scholastic learning, but first in Leeds—I must mention Thoresby. I know no character more interesting and instructive than that which is exhibited in the frank pages of the diaries he has left, illustrating a life wholly spent in the industrious investigation of what is best worth knowing in the world in which he was placed and in devout preparation for another. Though with no natural energy of temperament,—for you may remember how his father reproached him with effeminacy for liking to travel in stage-coaches, and how he was nearly prevented going to Dublin by fear of the pirates in the Irish Channel; though of no lively disposition, for when at Oxford he was pleased with the skeletons and stuffed remains in the Anatomical Museum, because they accorded with his natural melancholy; though of no remarkable religious fervour, for he often accuses himself of a dull, spiritual condition which he humorously designates as "dry drunkenness,"—he never seems to have wearied in any labour, or to have shrunk from any adventure in the pursuit of the truth of antiquity, nor to have failed in any duty to God or man. I should be glad, indeed, if the people of this opulent and intelligent city would raise some memorial which would shew their sense of

the merits and virtues of their brave old townsman, especially as they have permitted the dispersion of the remarkable Museum which he had so sedulously collected, and which would now have been an important feature of this province, and an invaluable addition, on this occasion, to your objects of local interest.

There is another name that I willingly record, that of Mr. Johnstone, whom Thoresby used to call his master in antiquities, who lived at Pontefract struggling with poverty, but sustained by the large hope that he should illustrate all Yorkshire before he died. His difficulties forced him to leave this country, and skulk in obscurity for many years, till some chance brought him under the notice of the Earl of Peterborough, who, in the discharge of the duty of an aristocracy towards men of letters (then so liberally acknowledged), took him under his protection, and made him the inmate of his house for the remainder of his life. After his death it was proposed to purchase his papers for the Minster Library of York: but the scheme fell through, and I believe they are still in private hands.

You have a closer connexion with Hopkinson of Loft-house, some of whose elaborate genealogies are preserved in this town, and forty-two volumes of whose collections form part of the magnificent library which Mr. Mathew Wilson has inherited from the judicious and accomplished bibliophilist Miss Currer.

Near the now busy station of Normanton is the monument of Mr. Torre of Snydal, whose MSS., deposited in the Minster Library at York, are the source of so much safe information to ecclesiastical archaeologists.

I wish my limits permitted me to do more than remind you of the works of Burton and Drake and De la Pryme and Brooke and Whittaker; but I am aware how long I have intruded on your patience, and I close this imperfect catalogue with the name of one whose memory is still fresh among you, Mr. Joseph Hunter. I deeply regret that he is not now amongst us, with all that varied erudition and wonderful grasp of detail which he never seemed to lose, with that grace and benevolence of manner which made his information always agreeable, and with that store of knowledge of the histories of private families in this county, which made him the continual referee on many questions of grave

individual interest or of natural curiosity, and for which I do not know how to seek elsewhere. If we only knew the rest of our county as well as we do those districts which the labour and learning of Mr. Hunter have illuminated, we should have more to tell, and less to learn from, the members of the Archæological Association.

In conclusion, let me add to these incomplete remarks, that, if the gratification of striking and vivid contrast is an agreeable sensation,—and it is said by some psychologists to be the source of all pleasure,—our visitors will enjoy it to the fullest degree in the comparison of this county as it was in the ages they are investigating, and what it now is, as it lies before them and proffers them its conveniences and its hospitalities. When they consider the many stagnant periods of history and the many gaps and deserts that shew themselves in the map of the civilisation of mankind, they may well appreciate the wondrous transitions that here have taken place within the last five hundred years. And there will be many to whom the reflection will be grateful, that the advance has been not only in the conditions of material prosperity but in the intellectual faculties which make us active and earnest in such pursuits as these, and in the moral qualities which are demanded from us by the development of the higher nature of man. The mind and soul of our forefathers were in harmony with the work they had to do—

“To them was life a simple art
Of duties to be done :
A game where each man took his part,
A race where all must run :
A battle whose great scheme and scope
They little cared to know ;
Content, as men-at-arms, to fight
Each with his fronting foe.”

Thus was it with the Men of Old. Ours is another world : we have a harder task and a heavier burden : we have the responsibilities of an enlarged knowledge and a more enlightened conscience. All we can do is to strive, as heartily and as constantly as we can, to keep alive something of the simplicity of the ancient life, and combine with it the hope—and, more than hope, the conviction—of the progress of the human race, and our thankfulness to the Disposer of all events that he has cast our lot in this happy time.



OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF THOMAS
EARL OF LANCASTER.

BY LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., PRESIDENT.

IN January 1850 I made a communication to the editor of *Notes and Queries* respecting Thomas Earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to King Edward II, who, having been taken in open rebellion against the king on the 16th March 1322, was tried and condemned in the presence of the sovereign, and executed with circumstances of great indignity on the rising ground above the Castle of Pomfret, which he at that time possessed in the right of his wife, the heiress of the De Laeys. He seems to have been a man of great ambition and of restless energy, stirred into indignant patriotism by the miserable favouritism of the king; in no ways superior to the rough morality of his class and time, and not especially recommending himself to any ecclesiastical interest; yet within a short time of the death of this personage, we find him an object not only of the great admiration, but of the religious devotion of a large portion of his countrymen. The sentence pronounced against him was formally revoked by Act of Parliament; and the Priory Church at Pomfret, which claimed to have his body buried on the right hand of the high altar, became the scene of a series of miracles. There is a record in the Library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, "of the miracles that God wroughte for Seint Thomas of Lancaster: wherefore the king lete close the church dores of Pountfret of the Prioree, for no man shall come therein to the body for to offeren." The veneration extended to London and became so prominent that a Royal Proclamation was issued denouncing and threatening the worshippers of the effigy: "Inimici et rebelli nostri fatue accedentes eam absque auctoritate Ecclesiæ Romanæ tanquam rem sanctificatam colunt et adsunt, asserentes ibi fieri miracula, opprobrium totius Ecclesiæ, nostri et vestri dedecus, et animarum populi predicti periculum manifestum, ac perniciosum exemplum aliorum." This reverence therefore, however produced, was of a national and unauthorised character; but within five weeks after the accession of Edward III a

special mission was sent to the Pope from the King, imploring the appointment of a commission to institute the usual canonical investigation preparatory to the canonisation of a Christian hero. In June of the same year a king's-letter is given to Robert de Weryngton, authorising him and his agents to collect alms throughout the kingdom for the erection of a chapel on the hill where the earl was beheaded. Three years later (that is in 1330) the embassy is repeated, urging the attention of the court of Rome to a subject that so much interested the Church and people of England; and in the April of the following year three still more important Envoys were sent with letters to the Pope, to nine Cardinals, to the Refeudary of the papal court, and to the three nephews of his holiness, entreating them not to give ear to the invectives of malignant men who have asserted that the Earl of Lancaster connived at some injury offered to certain Cardinals at Durham in the late King's reign. It is affirmed that, on the contrary, the Earl defended those high personages at his own great peril; and the reiterated demand for his sanctification appeals to the words of Scripture, "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you."

Of this strange story I can find no continuation till fifty-nine years later, when Walsingham, the Benedictine monk of St. Albans, chronicling the events of 1390 (the thirteenth year of Richard II), writes, "*hoc quoque anno sanctus Thomas de Lancastria canonizatus est.*" The same event is recorded by John Capgrave with the discrepancy of one year. Writing of 1389, he narrates: "And this same year was Thomas of Lancaster canonised, for it was seid commounly that he schould nevir be canonized onto the tyme that alle the juges that sat upon him were ded, & all her issew."

Notwithstanding the distinct assertions of these two ecclesiastical historians, the festival of Thomas of Lancaster is not set down in any of the Salisbury Service books either printed or in manuscript. Nor does his feast come among those which Lyndwode speaks of as introduced in later years. Butler makes no mention of him in his *Lives of the Saints*, nor can I find any notice of him in any Roman hagiology. I do not know what date Mr. Wright assigns to the Office of St. Thomas of Lancaster, beginning "*Gaude Thoma ducem decus lucerna Lancastrie,*" printed in the volume of his *Political Songs*; but it is in itself an

irrefragable proof of the popularity and extent of his invocation. Cardinal Wiseman kindly promised to direct some inquiry upon this dubious point of sacerdotal history to be made at Rome,—with what success I have not been yet informed. I shall be glad if any member of the Association can throw any light on these historical discrepancies, which at present leave us with an English saint without a tradition of piety and of questionable morals, and with two monastic Historians who have hitherto been regarded as veracious chroniclers, but who are now placed in flagrant contradiction to the authority of their Church on a public, important, professional fact.

A stone coffin found in a field not far from St. Thomas's Hill, near Pomfret, in the year 1828, which in the local histories has been supposed to contain the bones of this mysterious personage, is still to be seen in the pleasure-grounds of Lord Houghton at Fryston Hall. The heavy lid was removed in the presence of Mr. T. Wright, Rev. C. Hartshorne, and other members of the Archæological Association, and the bones taken out and examined. They were of unusually large proportions, especially those of the head. They were afterwards restored, with due respect, to their ancient resting-place.

ON THE BADGES OF THE HOUSE OF YORK.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., ROUGE CROIX, HON. SEC.

It is now thirteen years since I had the honour of reading at our Lancashire Congress a paper "On the Badges of the House of Lancaster," which was thought worthy of being printed in our *Journal*. I therefore, with peculiar pleasure, avail myself of our meeting in this county to offer you some observations on the badges of the house of York, as it will complete, as far as I am at present able to do, the history of the badges of the royal family of England from the reign of Edward III to the times of the Tudors.

In the year 1813 Sir Henry Ellis, then Principal Librarian at the British Museum, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries *An Enumeration and Explanation of the Devices borne as Badges of Cognizance by the House of*

York, being the copy of a memorandum written on a blank leaf of parchment at the beginning of the Digby MS. No. 82; the handwriting, in Sir Henry's opinion, being contemporary with Richard Duke of York, father of Edward IV. The word "Explanation," however, must be taken *cum grano*, or at any rate in a sense very different to the one in which I purpose to use it on this occasion. The memorandum itself is headed much more correctly, "Thes ben the Names of the Lordeshippes, with the Bages that pertayneth to the Duke of Yorke"; and the "Explanation" is limited to the statement of the different lordships to which the badges belonged. As far as it goes this is certainly important; but the explanation which we desire, is not only to what lordships they belonged, but how they originated, and what they typified.

In this inquiry I shall necessarily have to retrace some of my steps when discussing the origin of the badges of the house of Lancaster, and must therefore request the indulgence of our older associates when repeating myself, as they may fairly consider themselves listening to "a tale twice told," which may be "in the second hearing troublesome." For instance, it will be necessary for me upon this, as on the previous occasion, to preface my observations on the badges themselves with a few words upon the nature of badges generally, and I shall take the liberty of quoting from my former paper *verbatim et literatim* :

"The word 'badge' is familiar to us all, in its ordinary acceptation, as a mark or token of anything; but its etymology, like that of so many heraldic terms, is most uncertain. Mr. Lower, in his *Curiosities of Heraldry*, has collected the principal derivations suggested by the philologists, preferring that of Johnson, who derives it from the Italian *bajulo* (to carry). The Norman term for it is much more explicit, *le cognoissance* (anglicised 'cognizance'); and in many instances it was probably the first armorial bearing displayed by the assumer on his shield and banner. But when the heraldic escutcheon became more elaborately charged, convenience, economy, and other obvious reasons, combined to render it necessary to distinguish the retainers and servants of royal, baronial, or knightly personages by some simple and striking mark of the family to which they belonged. 'Might I but know thee by thy household badge,' says Clifford to the Earl of Warwick in the second part of Shakespeare's *King Henry VI.* This household badge or cognizance (occasionally also called an 'impress') was therefore either a figure selected from the family coat, or one quite

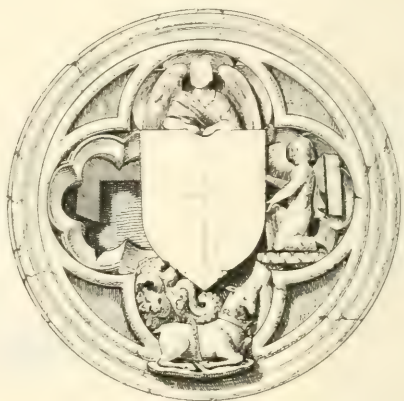
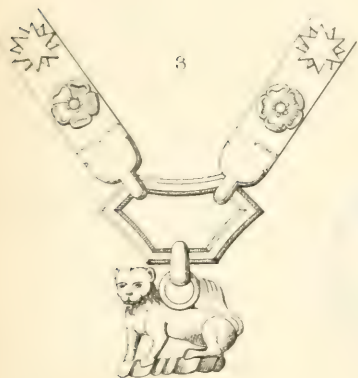
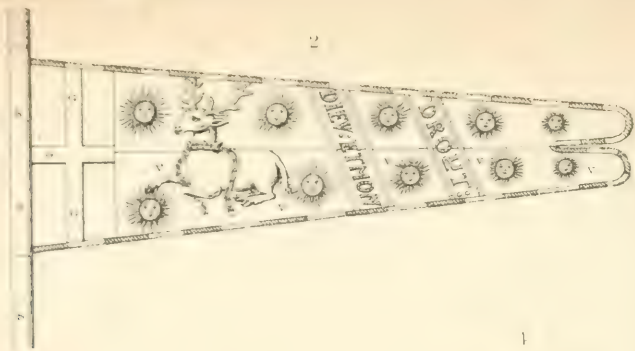
distinct from it, bearing some obvious allusion either to the name of the owner or to one of his principal estates or offices; and whilst the banner, shield, and jupon of the knights, and the tabard of the herald, displayed the whole armorial coat, the badge glittered upon the standard and pennoncelle, and on the sleeve, back, or breast of the soldier, the domestic, or the adherent; sometimes on a ground of the family colours if the whole dress was not composed of them; and in later times engraved or embossed on metal plates fastened on the arms, as we see the badges now worn by firemen, watermen, postillions, &c. The occasional use of the crest where families had not assumed a badge, has caused the confusion of these otherwise distinct ensigns; and the modern innovation of embroidering the sleeve or embossing the plate with the entire coat of arms, has increased the difficulty which besets the subject. To the household badge or cognizance properly belonged the *crie de guerre*, or motto,—*mot*, or word of the family,—now most absurdly placed under the shield of arms: a situation which, of course, it could never have occupied. The object of both badge and motto was publicity; and herein is the great line of demarcation between this sign of company and the occasional and purely personal decoration with which it is so often confounded, namely the device with its accompanying legend assumed for the very opposite purpose of mystification, or at least of covertly alluding to the immediate motive or sentiments of the bearers. Both the badge and the device are occasionally termed ‘a rebus’; but the epithet is more strictly applicable to the latter, as it was in fact a pictured riddle, or ‘painted metaphor’ as Dallaway calls it; and its legend was emphatically described by the French as ‘*l’ame du devise*,’ the soul or spirit of the device.”

The extravagance of fancy displayed in some of these emblematical decorations amounted sometimes to the ridiculous. With such, however, we have nothing to do at present, beyond this general definition which is necessary for their separation in your minds from the legitimate object of our consideration, the household badges or family cognizances of the royal line of York. According to the list printed by Sir Henry Ellis they amount to ten, viz.: 1, the falcon and fetterlock; 2, the falcon with a maiden’s head; 3, a white rose; 4, a white lion; 5, a black dragon; 6, a blue boar; 7, a white hart; 8, the sun in its splendour; 9, a black bull; and 10, a white hind. This catalogue varies considerably from several others which may fairly claim an equal authority; but I will take the badges nearly in the order I find them in the Digby MS., and call your attention









to the contradictions and omissions as the occasions for their consideration may arise. It commences thus: "Furste the dukechyp of Yorke with the badges ben the fawcon and the fetturlocke"; and here, at starting, we shall find reason for qualifying the assertion of the writer. It is quite clear that the falcon and the fetterlock were originally two distinct badges borne by the dukes of York; and although afterwards conjoined, as you perceive them in this example¹ (plate 1, fig. 1), there is nothing to prove their connexion otherwise with the city or duchy of York. An eagle was a royal cognizance in England from the time of Henry II, whose mother (Matilda) was empress of Germany, and was borne as a personal crest by Edward III. We learn from Froissart that there was a falcon herald, an officer of arms of the crown in 1359 (the thirty-third year of the latter monarch's reign); and one of the badges of Richard II is said to have been a white falcon. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, bore a similar badge to that assigned to his brother Edmund of Langley, first duke of York, viz., an eagle with a padlock,—not essaying to open it, as it has been incorrectly described in order to support a popular story, but merely holding it in his beak.² John of Gaunt and Edmund of Langley having each married a daughter and heiress of Peter, king of Castile, I ventured to suggest in my former essay that the eagle and padlock and the falcon and fetterlock might be found to have some reference to these Spanish matches. The seal, however, on which the former badge appears, is circumscribed only, "Johannes filius Regis Dux Lancastrie"; and was therefore executed previous to his marriage with Constance, although the document to which it was appended is dated the 28th of January 1375-6, four years after that marriage and his assumption of the title of king of Castile. At what period exactly Edmund of Langley assumed the fetterlock, I have not yet been able to discover; but there is a very curious drawing of his seal, before he was duke of York, in one of Vincent's MSS. in the College of Arms, in which, on each side of his shield, is a bird, which, as represented in the drawing, it might be hazardous to describe to an ornitholo-

¹ From a valuable book of standards drawn in the sixteenth century (*temp.* Henry VIII or Edward VI. It is ascribed in the volume to the "Duc de Yorke," although the fetterlock is open.

² *Vide* plate 32, illustrative of the Lancastrian badges, in vol. vi of the *Journal* of the Association.

gist; but I believe it to be intended for what a herald would term "a falcon close" (that is, with its wings folded), and having in its mouth a scroll bearing the motto, "Bon espoier" (*bonne espoir*, good hope). The seal is circumscribed, "Sigillum Edmundi Filii Regis Anglie Comitis Cambridge," and is described as "the seale of Edmund of Langley 5 sonne to King Edward 3rd, before he was duke of York, to a treaty betwene the Frenche and English nations." As this seal has never, to my knowledge, been engraved, or even noticed before, I have great pleasure in drawing the attention of our friends to it; and it is so far illustrative of our subject that it shews the fetterlock was not joined with the falcon, at any rate till after the year 1362, the date of Edmund's creation as earl of Cambridge. (Fig. 2). He is said to have built Fotheringay Castle in the shape of a fetterlock; and Dr. Bell suggested that the badges might signify "feather in gyve"; but without the falcon it could not have that meaning. The popular story about the badge is told as follows by Camden in his *Remaines concerning Britaine*,—

"The said Edmund of Langley bare also for an impress a fauleon in a fetterlock, implying that he was locked up from all hope and possibility of the kingdom when his brethren began to aspire thereunto. Whereupon he asked on a time his sons when he saw them beholding this device set up in a window, what was Latin for a fetterlock; whereat, when the young gentlemen studied, the father said: 'Well, if you cannot tell me, I will tell you,—' *Hic, hæc, hoc, taceatis,*' as advising them to be silent and quiet; and therewithal said, 'yet God knoweth what may come to pass hereafter.' This his great grandchild, King Edward the Fourth, reported when he commanded that his younger son, Richard Duke of York, should use this device with the fetterlock opened, as Roger Wall, an herald of that time reporteth."

As this is a fair example of the way in which heraldry has been mystified and misrepresented in former days, I must detain you a few minutes while I take this story to pieces, and shew you how little it can be relied on. The authority quoted is that of Roger Wall, a herald of the reign of Edward IV, who asserts that Edward told that anecdote of his great-grandfather: in other words, Roger Wall said that King Edward said that his great-grandfather said, etc., etc. Now grant that he did say so,—which is a great deal to grant,—how does Edmund of Langley's answer to his

children prove that he had assumed that badge to imply that he was locked up from all hope and possibility of the kingdom? Instead of asking his sons what was the Latin for a fetterlock, suppose he had asked them what was Yorkshire for it. I am inclined to think a better derivation might have been found. In the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (a Latin and English dictionary of the fourteenth century) we find *langeleyn*, "to bind together";¹ and, according to Mr. Halliwell, *langele* is still used in the North to signify hopping or fettering a horse.² Without asserting that a fetterlock was actually called a *langel*, there is quite enough similarity of sound between *langeleyn* or *langele* "to bind or fetter," and Langley, the name by which he was known, to suggest its adoption for his badge; for while the device was a pictorial riddle or puzzle, the badge was usually a painted pun, and sometimes a worse one than ever raised a good-natured groan in a modern extravaganza; the object being simply to typify the name or title of the bearer. The falcon may have been added as a token of descent by his grandson, Richard; the said falcon being, in another catalogue of equal authority, described by itself as "*falco imagine Ricardi Ducis Ebor.*" Edward Plantagenet, the eldest son of Edmund of Langley, who succeeded his father as duke of York, and was slain at the battle of Agincourt in 1414, has left us no example of his mode of bearing this family cognizance; but in his will he bequeathes to his "*tres amee compagne Philippe*" (his wife, Philippa de Mohun) his red and white tapestry with garters, locketts, and falcons; which may equally mean that the locketts and falcons were embroidered separately or together.³ Of Richard of Coningsburgh, his second son, we find no badge to enlighten us; but on the seal of *his* only son Richard, third duke of York, the fetterlock is seen without the falcon on each side of the crest, the arms being supported on the dexter side by a falcon with bells. (Fig. 3). So that actually, when we come to examine the matter strictly, we have no authority for the falcon *within* the fetterlock before

¹ "Langelyd (or teyun to gedyr)"; *colligatur*. "Langelyn" (or bind together); *colligo, compedio*. "*Compedio*" (to shackle or fetter). "*Compedis*" (a shackle or fetter).

² Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, *sub voce*.

³ In a catalogue of the crown jewels at the same period (*temp.* Henry V), Rot. Pat. v, 4, 222, is the following: "Item 11 pottes galoners d'argent covertz signes avec vetter lokkes." No mention of a falcon.



the reign of Edward IV, about which period the lists appear to have been compiled which are quoted with so much confidence! As Edward's, it appeared amongst others of his badges, with the lock *closed*, in the windows of a house belonging to the Chapel Royal at Windsor,¹ with the inscription, "Ex Ducatū de Yorke"; which is so far correct, that both the falcon and the fetterlock had been borne singly by the dukes of York; but there is not the slightest evidence that they had any reference to the duchy. The order of Edward IV that his son, Richard Duke of York, should bear the same badge with the fetterlock open, was clearly to difference it from his own and his father's; and the earliest authentic example is in the gates of Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster.

We have not yet done with the falcon, for the next badge on the list is the falcon with the maiden's head, which we are told pertained specially to the honor of Coningsburgh. "The bages that he beryth by Conysbrow ys the fawcon with a maydynys hedde, and her here hangyng abowte here shoulders, with a crowne about her nekke." This badge is not drawn in any of the MSS. at the College of Arms; but it is to be seen in the Somerset Chapel in St. George's, Windsor, in company with the rose and other royal cognizances:² not precisely, however, as described above, there being no crown about the neck. (Fig. 4.) A conceit of this description appears to have been popular in the fourteenth century. Thebaut d'Oranges, we are told by Menestrier, bore *gules*, an eagle *or*, with a lady's head proper; and Edward the Black Prince bequeathed to the church of Canterbury a hall of tapestry of ostrich feathers, with a border paly red and black, wrought with swans with ladies' heads.

The Castle of Coningsburgh, which came through the earls of Warren to the Plantagenets, does not in its history furnish us with any clue to this badge. On the death of Maude de Nereford, the second wife of John, last Earl of Warren of that family, and on whom the Castle had been settled, with other property, for her life, it passed, according to agreement, to Edmund of Langley, then only six years old; and his mother, Queen Philippa, had the care of it during

¹ Existing in Sandford's time, who wrote in the reign of Charles II. (*Genealogical History*, p. 408, note.)

² Williment's *Regal Heraldry*.

his minority. Whether this be another instance of the combination of the royal falcon with some other cognizance, or an ancient badge of the Warrens, it is not possible for me to say; nor when it first appeared amongst those of the house of York. The only example that I am aware of is before you; and I can neither indorse nor contradict the assertion that it represented the honour of Coningsburgh.¹

We are next informed that "the bages that he beryth by the Castle of Clifford is a white rose"; but, as usual, no reason why. It is quite clear that this celebrated cognizance of the house of York did not originate in the dispute in the Temple Gardens, so dramatically introduced in the play of *Henry VI*; nor does it follow that Shakespeare, or whoever wrote it, intended, as Sir Henry Ellis seems to think, to represent that it did so. In my former paper on the Lancastrian badges I observed that there is not a line throughout the scene which can be taken to shew an intention on the part of the author to represent that those badges were then for the first time assumed. Richard Plantagenet, as grandson of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, naturally proposes that those who think with him should signify their opinion by adopting the badge of his house, which is by accident blooming beside him. John of Beaufort, a descendant of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, as naturally selects the badge of his family, the red rose, as the token of adherence to his side of the question.

The scene, if entirely the invention of Shakespeare (which has been disputed), is full of truth and character, and in any case testifies rather to the pre-existence of those signs of company than to their derivation from this incident. Roses, red, white, and gold, are mentioned as ornaments both of dresses and furniture possessed by various members of the Plantagenet family from the time of Edward I, who is said to have given for a badge "a rose *gold*, the stalk *vert*." There is no positive authority for this assertion, which is to be found in a Harleian MS. (No. 304); but it is very probable that the white and red roses may have been only chosen as differences, as you will find was the case with the

¹ The name of Fulco or Fulk was famous in the family of Anjou; and the falcon may have been a very ancient cognizance not only of the Plantagenets, but of the earls of Warren, who also descended from it. The badge popularly attributed to that house is an escarboucle; but I have yet to learn wherefore.

ostrich feathers which are blazoned and depicted gold, silver, and ermine, to distinguish the king's from the prince's and the duke of Lancaster's.

Tenure of a manor by presenting a rose on a certain day, was also a common custom in the middle ages. Brooke House, Langsett, in the parish of Penistone in this county, is said by Beckwith, in his edition of Blount's *Ancient Tenures*, to have been held, even in his day (he died in 1799), by the unseasonable payment of a snowball at midsummer and a rose at Christmas: or, as he presumes, a sum of money in default. We have no evidence of the tenure of Clifford Castle by this sort of service; but it may have been held by the annual payment of a white rose, although the fact has not transpired. There is also a romantic story associated with the family of Clifford in connexion with a rose. Need I recall the popular tradition of Rosamunda, the "Rose of the World", the "filia pulchra" of Walter de Clifford, the favourite of Henry II, and the victim of Queen Eleanor's vengeance? The mention of this fair enslaver reminds me, however, of the labyrinth in which, as the story goes, her royal lover endeavoured to conceal her from the verdant vision of his vindictive queen; and I must take care not to bewilder you in a *maze* of conjectures through which I have no clue to lead you to a substantial fact. I have no desire to substitute simply a modern fiction for an ancient one. At present we are certainly without any means of ascertaining the origin of the last two badges, and only know that they are reputed to be those belonging to the castles of Coningsburgh and Clifford, and that the latter came into the possession of the house of York by the marriage of Richard of Coningsburgh, son of Edmund of Langley, with his second wife, Maud, daughter of Thomas Lord Clifford.

The fourth badge on the list is the white lion. "The badge that he beryth by the erldom of March ys a white lion." This badge is frequently to be seen appended to the Yorkist collar of suns and roses, which displaced that of the S's after the accession of Edward IV, and could only have been assumed by Richard, son of Richard of Coningsburgh, by his first wife, Anne, daughter of Roger Mortimer, and sister and ultimately heir of Edmund Earl of March, who died without issue in 1424, when the earldoms of March and Ulster, and the lordships of Wigmore, Clare, Trim, and

Connaught, were added to the dukedom of York, the earldoms of Cambridge and Rutland, and the barony of Tindal; which honours had been forfeited by the treason of his father, and generously restored to him by Henry VI in the fourth year of his reign. On the seal of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, his crest of a plume of feathers issuing out of a coronet, is supported by two lions. The seal, of course, is colourless, and I am not aware of any contemporary painting; but Edward IV, in virtue of this descent, took for supporters to his arms two white lions; and we cannot, therefore, doubt that the white lion *séjant*, *guardant*, *appendant* to his livery collar, was the badge of his earldom of March taken from an heraldic cognizance of the Mortimers. Whence they derived it, or whether they first assumed it, is beyond our present inquiry. We have only to trace its origin as a badge of the house of York, and it is clear that it dates from this heirship to the earldom of March in 1424. It is drawn here holding the standard of the Duke of York, and is blazoned *argent armed azure*.

The same date and origin must, of course, be granted to the next on the list, that of the black dragon. We are told, "the bages that he beryth by the erldom of Wolst^r (Ulster) ys a blacke dragon."¹ This must have been an assumption by Richard in right of his descent through his mother, Anne Mortimer, from the De Burghs, earls of Ulster; she being daughter of Roger Mortimer, son of Philippa only daughter of Lionel Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III by Elizabeth daughter and heir of William son of John de Burgh, who died in the lifetime of his father, Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster.

Through the same descent the house of York derived the sixth badge, that of the black bull. William de Burgh's mother was Elizabeth daughter of Gilbert de Clare, surnamed "the Red," Earl of Gloucester, by Joan of Acres, second daughter of King Edward I, and eventually coheir of her brother, Gilbert Earl of Gloucester and Hereford. We therefore read in the list, "the bages that he beryth by the honour of Clare ys a blacke bolle, rough; his horns and his legs and members of gold." In the "Act of Resumption," in the Parliament Roll *sub anno* 1464, is an exception

¹ "A white wolf is another badge attributed, in a Lansdown MS., to the earldom of Ulster; probably from the ancient mode of spelling it, *Wolster*."

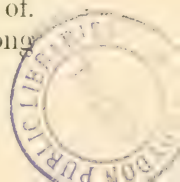
in favour of Rauf Vestynden, of £10 *per annum*, given unto him for the good and agreeable service he did the king in bearing and holding of the king's standard of the black bull.

Of the dragon I have not found any authentic representation: but we have here (pl. 2, fig. 1) the bull supporting a banner on which is another celebrated Yorkist cognizance, "the white rose en soleil," of which we shall have to speak presently, but which is not mentioned in the catalogue we are examining. The others named in it, which we have still to notice, have reference entirely to the family of Edward III generally; and, with one exception, are not usually included in the lists of badges pertaining specially to the line of York.

"The bages that he beryth by King Edward is a blew bore with his tusks and his cleis and his members of golde." Of course, if any of the dukes of York bore this badge simply by descent from King Edward III, it would be common to the issue of all the sons of that sovereign; but we do not find it borne by any other of his descendants. Richard Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III), and brother of Edward IV, had a white or silver boar for his badge, and also used two for supporters to his arms, obtaining from his enemies the nicknames of "the boar" and "the hog" from that circumstance. But this badge is said by Sandford to have been superinscribed "*Ex honore de Windsor*," in an ancient catalogue of badges of the house of York; while in a MS. in the College of Arms, of the time of Elizabeth, it is said that Richard used for a supporter "a white boar, which he had by the dukedom of Gloucester." These opposite statements, in MSS. which, if not strictly contemporaneous, were at all events compiled by persons living within sixty or seventy years of the time, sufficiently prove that no certain knowledge of the origin or meaning of such devices existed even amongst the heralds of the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth centuries; "the learned Camden," as he is most justly called, being the first writer on these subjects who examined them in a truly critical spirit, and dissipated much of the mystery and fable in which they had been enveloped by his predecessors. I have certainly entertained an opinion that the boar of Richard of York, as he was called before he was created Duke of Gloucester, was assumed to symbolise the Latin name *Eboracum*, usually abbreviated *Ebor*. But agreeable as this is to

my theory, I shall not be guilty of warping the truth to meet it. If a blue boar was actually the badge of Edward III, it could not have arisen from that circumstance. The misfortune is, that the list in which it is so described is not an impugnable authority. There is also this fact to be taken into consideration. A blue boar was the well-known badge, and afterwards crest, of the De Veres, Earls of Oxford, being a play upon the family name,—*verres*, in Latin, signifying a boar-pig; and we can scarcely imagine Edward III to have assumed a badge precisely similar to that of one of the greatest nobles in his kingdom. In no other list have I seen such a cognizance attributed to Edward. Philippa de Coucy, his granddaughter, married Richard II's great and unworthy favourite, Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland and Marquis of Dublin. It is not unlikely that the crest or badge of her husband should have appeared in conjunction with those of her mother's illustrious family, and have been in this way mistaken for a badge of Edward III. It is, however, idle to speculate upon the cause of the error, if it be one. All I can say is, that until these assertions, ancient as they may be, are corroborated, I shall continue to doubt the blue boar having ever been a badge of King Edward III, or that the silver one of Richard of York had anything to do with the honour of Windsor or the dukedom of Gloucester.

To proceed. "The bages that he beryth by King Richard ys a whyte harte and the sonne shyning." One would be first inclined to ask what the house of York had to do with King Richard II, for he is the king alluded to. It, however, appears that the said house of York always affected a great love for that unfortunate prince who had named Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, as successor to the throne in right of his mother Philippa, daughter and heir of Lionel, third son of Edward III; to the great annoyance of the descendants of John of Gaunt, the fourth son: and, therefore, as Richard Duke of York claimed the crown in virtue of his descent from the former, this badge—or, rather, these badges, for they are two distinct devices—may have been assumed by him as inherited with the kingdom from Richard II through Mortimer. You see them here depicted together on the standard of Richard II, as it is drawn in the very valuable MS. in the College of Arms I have already spoken of. (Fig. 2.) The "sun of York" has been made so popular among



us by Shakespeare, that it is probably the best known of any of the cognizances of that family, with the exception of the white rose with which it was latterly combined by Edward IV, as you perceive it in this banner copied from the same MS., and supported by the black bull of Clare. "The sun in splendor," as it was blazoned, is seen alone upon the mainsail of the vessel in which Richard II is depicted returning from his Irish expedition, in the very magnificently illuminated Metrical History in the Harleian Collection at the British Museum (No. 1319), and up to the time of the battle of Mortimer's Cross could only have been borne by the family of York for the reason given in the catalogue; but in consequence of the remarkable atmospherical illusion of three suns on the morning of that conflict, and which as the day advanced resolved themselves naturally into one, Edward IV appropriated this badge specially to himself in commemoration of the great victory of which this phenomenon was considered the happy omen. On his great seal the rose and sun are represented separately, one on each side of him; but in his Dublin groat they are combined as in this example before you. Linked together, or similarly combined, they formed the livery collar both of Edward IV and Richard III; the former having the pendant of the white lion of March, and the latter of the white boar of York, as I shall still take the liberty to call it. Examples also exist of this collar with the pendant of the bull of Clare, on the effigies of knights who may have been personally attached to George Duke of Clarence. The specimen here given is from the effigy of Sir Robert Harcourt, K.G., at Stanton Harcourt. (Fig. 3). The boar may be seen on that of Sir John Crosby in Great St. Helen's, London.

The white hart was the favourite cognizance of Richard II, ducally collared and chained as you beheld it in his standard, and sometimes "*lodged*," as it is called by heralds, under a tree. It has been suggested that it signified "rich hart," the old Norman form of Richard; and the suggestion is by no means improbable. Some writers have considered it as derived from the white hind borne by Richard's mother, "the fair maid of Kent"; but he bore that cognizance also, and without any alteration. It is the last in the list we have been examining. "The bages that he beryth by the fayre maid of Kent is a white hynde"; and it may be seen couchant

under his arms on the north front of Westminster Hall, with a coronet round its neck and a chain attached to it (fig. 4), as the hart is seen in the other example. The latter was sometimes crowned as well as ducally collared. I need not, however, dwell upon these badges as they are not strictly those of the family of York; unless, indeed, it be true, as some have asserted, that a white hind was a badge of Philippa, queen of Edward III; in which case that cognizance might be with greater right borne by the issue of her son, Edmund of Langley.

There appears, however, upon the seal of Edward Duke of York (fig. 5) another badge, which is not mentioned in the foregoing catalogue, and one which is invested with a special interest at the present moment, when its reappearance is hailed with such hearty enthusiasm throughout these dominions. I allude to the ostrich feather and its motto, "ICH DIEN," which since the reign of Henry VII has been exclusively appropriated to the eldest son of the sovereign and heir apparent to the crown. Were I to enter into the history of this thrice-famous device, I should detain you here for hours without being able to clear up the mystery which still surrounds its origin. I have, however, upon this occasion merely to speak of it as a cognizance which, in the fifteenth century, we find differently tinctured, borne very generally by several branches of the royal family. In the Harleian MS., No. 304, fol. 12, we are told that "the ostrich feather silver, with the pen gold, is the King's; the ostrich feather, pen and all silver, is the Prince's; the ostrich feather gold, the pen ermine, is the Duke of Lancaster's; the ostrich feather silver, the pen gobonné (*alias* compony, or composed of alternate squares of two colours,—in this case white and blue), is the Duke of Somerset's. Strangely enough no mention is made of the Duke of York; but that Edward Duke of York, eldest son of Edmund of Langley, and slain at Agincourt in 1414, not only bore the feather, but also placed the motto, "ICH DIEN," upon the scroll, is apparent from his seal, on which it appears as you see it in this diagram. His brother Richard bore the feather and scroll without the motto, and so did his son Richard, the father of Edward IV. Whether the feather borne by the house of York differed in tincture or metal from that borne by the line of Lancaster, we have no coloured example to inform

us: but Sir Harris Nicolas, in his valuable essay on this subject in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxxi, p. 309), on the authority of Mr. Charles Winston, states that "in the window of the church of Nettleswell, in Essex, there were formerly (and which were apparently placed there in the early part of the reign of Edward IV) some remarkable representations of the ostrich feather, namely a border composed of five red and five blue ostrich feathers, having an escroll on each." Now the colours of the house of York were, in the fifteenth century, murrey and blue (murrey being a dark red, like the juice of the mulberry, whence its name); and it is exceedingly probable that the dukes of York bore the feathers of their family colours, as we find the Duke of Somerset at that period, who was of the Lancastrian family, bearing his feather with the quill componnée of *argent* and *azure* (white and blue), the family colours of the house of Lancaster.

After Edward IV's establishment on the throne, his son Edward, as Prince of Wales, bore the ostrich feather *argent*; and as that is the last example we find previous to the union of the two houses, we are left completely in the dark as to the colour of the feather borne by the house of York, unless we are to consider it indicated by those in the window of the church at Nettleswell.

Leland, in the second volume of his *Collectanea* (p. 619), gives, "out of a chart of the genealogie of the dukes of York," the badge of a moon excrescent, in the centre of which a lion séjant." I have not found such a cognizance in any other list, nor have I met with any example of it in painting or sculpture. A crescent was a very ancient cognizance of our Anglo-Norman kings: but I am inclined to believe, if there be really any authority for the above, that this was a badge personal to Edward Duke of York, the husband of Philippa de *Molain*. In later times we have Henry II of France assuming a crescent in honour of *Diana* de Poitiers.

In concluding this very imperfect paper, I have to apologise for the little that I have been able to do in elucidation of its subject. The truth is, that from mistaken ideas of its origin and intention, which have unfortunately been fostered by the writings of too many who should have known better, we are only beginning to understand heraldry. Its purpose was to identify persons and property, and to record descent

and alliance, and no modern invention as yet has been found to supersede it. For this reason alone, of all ancient usages it is the one least likely to become obsolete. Hundreds of persons may be entitled to the same initials, may possess precisely the same names; but only the members of a particular family can lawfully bear certain armorial ensigns, and the various branches of even that family have their separate differences to distinguish one from the other. On charges simple enough at the time they were adopted, the most preposterous stories have been founded; and the characters which were originally so clear that those who ran might read, have been mystified and misrepresented till they are no longer to be deciphered by the light we have left us. An unhappy ambition to exalt their science in the eyes of the general public, and a less excusable desire to pander to the vanity of those who had inherited ancient armorial ensigns, induced the heralds of the middle ages to adopt and exaggerate the wildest legends, the most unfounded assertions, if they could by any possibility be connected with the charges on the shield or the badge on the standard. With the increase of education, the absurdities became more and more apparent, and at length the study of heraldry was pretty generally abandoned as a silly and useless pursuit. The critical spirit of archæology has within the last twenty years done much to disabuse the public of this prejudice; and although it may be some time before the commonplace sneers at heralds and their art are dropped out of the stock-in-trade of the would-be satirist, the curious and important information to be derived from the study of armorial devices is rapidly becoming appreciated by the historian, the genealogist, and the biographer.

ON THE LITTLE BRITISH KINGDOM OF ELMET AND THE REGION OF LOIDIS.

BY JOHN JAMES, ESQ.

WHEN the Roman legions had been withdrawn from our shores, and nearly the whole of the country lay at the mercy of the Anglo-Saxons, there existed in the heart of what is now the West Riding of Yorkshire, a little state called Elmet, which maintained for nearly two hundred years its independence. It was probably enclosed on all sides by the kingdom of Deira, which included the whole of the other parts of Yorkshire. This *Regiuncula* of Elmet, as it has been called, possesses, for many reasons, great interest both to the antiquary and general inquirer: 1st, because it probably remained in inhabitants, religion, and manners, much the same from the time when the Romans quitted this country until the year 616; 2ndly, because in this interval it stood like an oasis hemmed in by the desert of Saxon Paganism. From the time that Christianity was introduced into Yorkshire (probably in the latter part of the second century), its pure light, it may be believed, never afterwards became extinguished; nor the literature, arts, and civilisation, of Rome quite lost in this territory of Elmet, though the gross darkness of heathenism pervaded for a long period the Saxon rule in England; and 3rdly, because Leeds, now the capital of the West Riding, was most likely also the capital of the kingdom of Elmet.

The history of this interesting little state is involved in deep obscurity, for very few ancient notices have descended to us respecting it.

Lappenberg, in his *History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings* (translated by Mr. Thorpe), states that Here-ric, grandson of Ælle, king of Northumbria, was poisoned in Elmet some time before the year 616; and that about the same year his uncle Edwin, also king of Northumbria, (which included the province of Deira), as one of his earliest deeds on ascending the throne, “conquered, about the year 616, the little British territory of Elmet, which had existed

as an independent state." We are also informed that at this time Cereticus held the sovereignty of Elmet. Within a few years after this conquest, Edwin was converted to the Christian faith by Paulinus, who then preached at Dewsbury and throughout these parts.

The country of Loidis, which by Thoresby was assumed to be the same as the district of Elmet, is mentioned by the venerable Bede; and also the "Wood of Elmet," as hereafter more fully stated. But the most curious notice of Elmet is contained in the fragment of an ancient MS. inserted in Camden's *Britannia*, and containing a list of the Saxon divisions of England during the time of the Heptarchy, before England was divided into counties, but only into several small partitions with their number of hides. In this list the number of hides possessed in Elmet is set down; but it is far from certain whether these were all that were included in the district of Elmet, or merely represented a later partition carved out of it. At this point the inquiry naturally arises, What, then, were the extent and bounds of the ancient kingdom of Elmet? The subjoined remarks are offered as aids in answering this inquiry.

As to its extent.—From the ancient MS. inserted in Camden's *Britannia*, we find that Elmed-Setna (that is, the inhabitants of Elmet) possessed or occupied six hundred hides of land. Wight-Gora (which, it is presumed, stands for the Isle of Wight) is also set down in the same MS. as consisting of the like number of hides; so that, taking the hide to contain the same measure of land in both places, we obtain, from the known area of the Isle of Wight, 86,800 acres, or about a hundred and thirty-six square miles. But it is very probable that the district of Elmet contained much more. Bishop Kennet, in his *Parochial Antiquities*, observes, "the word 'hide' was originally taken for a horse; and what Bede calls '*familias*,' that is, as much land as would maintain a family; for his Saxon interpreter, King Alfred, calls it 'hydelander.' The quantity of a hide was never expressly determined; sometimes it contained one hundred acres, sometimes eight virgates (one hundred and ninety-two acres. The truth seems to be, 'hide,' 'knight's fee,' and 'yardland,' differed in different places." Now it is quite certain that in the Saxon times the hide contained more land in the sterile or uncultivated lands of the north

of England than in the more fruitful districts of the south : for instance, it appears from *Domesday Survey* for some parts of Lancashire, six carucates, or six hundred acres, made a hide of land ; but in other counties the hide and carucate were mostly the same.

The district of Elmet, it is supposed, took its name from abounding in elm trees. As will hereafter appear, it is conjectured that it included within its bounds at least the valleys of the Wharfe and the Aire, and probably also that of the Calder. Any one traversing these valleys cannot but be struck with the large remnants now existing of the forests which completely covered their slopes in the days of our Saxon forefathers. In Otley Manor alone there were, at the time of *Domesday Survey*, coppice-wood nine miles in length and nine in breadth. The Great Wood of Farnley near Leeds, and Bishop's Wood near Sherburn, and numerous others, are vestiges of the immense forests which spread over the face of Elmet, and gave security and independence to its inhabitants. It is evident, therefore, from the existence of these immense forests, and the vast tracts of moorland lying between the valleys, that a very extensive tract of country would be required to support six hundred families, supposed to constitute the population of Elmet ; for a family in Saxon times had often a large number of dependents.

From all these considerations it will, perhaps, be a moderate estimate to allot to the kingdom of Elmet about four hundred square miles,—or say twenty-five miles long and eighteen miles broad. In corroboration of this surmise Bede states that the island of Ely (which is twenty-four miles in length and fourteen in breadth) contained in his time six hundred *familias*, hides, or households ; and it was unquestionably then a more fertile spot than the country around Leeds.

As to its bounds.—Thoresby, in his *Ducatus*, observes that “the territory about Leeds, called Elmet, or the *Regio Loidis*, which seems in those ages (Saxon) to have been of equal extent,” was undoubtedly the *Sylva Elmetæ* of Bede, and adds that he durst not adventure upon the task of defining the boundaries of this *Regiuncula* of Elmet. What Thoresby durst not adventure upon, it may appear rash to attempt. The following hints are, however, with all diffidence offered towards solving this difficulty.

Thoresby himself, in the *Ducatus* (p. 245, 2nd edition), remarks: "I take Shireburn to be the utmost limits, at least in this topography, of the ancient Elmed Setna, or the inhabitants of Elmet, as I take the word to signify." Here, then, we have the authority of Thoresby for assuming Sherburn to be on the eastern boundary of Elmet; but there are also other reasons for this opinion. In many ancient writings Sherburn is described as "Sherburn in *Elmet*"; and old Lambard, in his Dictionary (published in 1577), says, "the territory or hundredth about Shireburn, in York, is called Elmete." Again, the very title, "Shireburn," denotes the boundary of a shire or district.

Towards the north it is not unlikely that the river Wharfe formed the boundary. Nowhere can the monastery of "the most reverend abbot and priest Thudwulf," mentioned by Bede to stand in the "Wood of Elmet," be placed more appropriately than at Tadcaster; for there or thereabouts a monastery existed in the Saxon times, the only one in that part of the country which can be considered as included in the territory of Elmet. That this territory could not extend in that direction further, at the most, than Tadcaster, may be concluded from the circumstance of York being the capital of Deira from the time of its subjugation by the Saxons, and that the district between the Wharfe and the city incontestably belonged to it. It is clear that the country contiguous to Tadcaster, towards the south, belonged to Elmet, because Berwick in Elmet lies in that quarter. And here most likely, from the remains still seen, stood the royal vill or residence of the later kings of Northumbria, mentioned by Bede as lying in the country called Loidis.

As to the boundaries of Elmet on the west there seems but little material to form even a probable opinion. Lappenberg thinks that the district called *Cumbria* extended into the later kingdom of Northumbria, and that the little state of Elmet belonged to it. This conjecture—for it is only one—does not seem very plausible, for the voice of history is plain that Elmet was an independent state under its own king. Besides, Lappenberg's theory would require Craven to have been included in *Cumbria*, and the evidence is strong that it belonged to Deira. It is, however, not improbable that the state of Elmet extended on the west to the confines of the Deanery of Craven (about twenty-five



miles from Sherburn), where there seems to have existed, from a remote period, a strong line of demarcation.

On the south there are no means of judging of the situation of the boundary-line. Dr. Whitaker, by including the parish of Halifax under the title of his great work, apparently thought that it formed part of the southern boundary of the district to which he gave the name of "Loidis and Elmete." Indeed, his work includes very much the same country as that ascribed in this paper to Elmet. Taking Sherburn as the east point, Bingley as the west, the breadth required (eighteen miles) would include the lower portions of the valleys of the Wharfe, Aire, and Calder.

The town of Leeds either gave the name to the country of Loidis mentioned by Bede, or took its name from it as its capital. Let us now consider for a few moments the question of the state of Leeds prior to the Conquest. Thoresby believes that *Caer-Loid-Coit*, one of the twenty-eight British cities enumerated by Nennius, was Leeds,—not Lincoln, as many have supposed; and adduces, among other good reasons, the great authority of Dean Gale for this opinion. Dr. Whitaker, that Prince of Topographers, in a note to the passage in Thoresby, says: "On a cooler consideration than our author's partiality to the subject would allow him to bestow on it, I cannot but think that Leeds has a fairer claim to be the *Caer-Loid-Coit* of Nennius than any other place."

That Leeds was a very important place in the Saxon times is satisfactorily proved by *Domesday Survey*, for seven thanes held it of King Edward the Confessor for seven manors valued at the large sum of £6. Besides there were there a church, a priest, and a mill, several classes of occupiers representing a considerable population for the age, and many other indications of a place of importance: in fact, the chief town of the district. Singularly enough, the Conqueror, though he devastated the neighbourhood, spared Leeds: and hence its rapid growth soon after, whereby it eventually obtained a great charter from the Paganel, its lords, and became large and prosperous.

ISURIUM.

BY ANDREW SHERLOCK LAWSON, ESQ.

As self-constituted ædile of the ancient city of Isurium, in which office I hope to be confirmed by your suffrages this evening, I offer on behalf of myself and my brother citizens a welcome warm and hearty to the members of the British Archæological Association. To each one of you we present, and hope that you will take full advantage of it, "the freedom of our city."¹ Sure I am that a day passed within our walls will convince the most sceptical amongst you that the *brigands* of modern times cannot possibly have derived their name from the *descendants* of the *Brigantes*,—that warlike tribe which in an age when, as Camden says, "all right was in the longest sword," had, perchance, not quite so clear a perception of the difference between *meum* and *tuum* as has fallen to the lot of those living in this enlightened nineteenth century.

I cannot profess to bring before you anything in the shape of *novelty* in my description of our *old* ruins. Much, indeed, that is novel has been conjectured as to the history of Isurium, and many authors have indulged in bold flights of fancy constructed upon a very slender foundation of facts. On the other hand we have much solid information as to the discoveries of past ages in Leland,² in Camden, in Stukeley, in Drake, and, coming down to more recent times, in Mr. Wright's *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, in Mr. Eeroyd Smith's *Reliquiæ Isurianæ*, and in the *History of Aldborough and Boroughbridge*, a useful handbook for the archæological traveller, published by our local bookseller.³ When sources so copious in lore connected with Isurium, are open

¹ The citizens threw open their pavements, etc., free of charge, to the members of the Association.

² Leland wrote his *Itinerary* in 1539; his poem on Prince Edward in 1543. (Campbell's *Survey of Britain*, i, 356, note.) He calls Isurium the "great citte in Wattelyng-street." ("Ermine-street," Drake.) Dr. Stukeley and Gale also wrote on Isurium.

³ To archæologists how invaluable the advice of Lord Bacon in his essay, *Of Travel*, to a young man,—“Let him carry with him also some card, or book, describing the country wherein he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry.” This is a safe preservative against travellers going about “hooded,” to use Baconian language. (*Of Travel*, Essay XIX.)

to you, I cannot but feel that my attempt to add to what is already within reach of every reader, is but the vain effort of "gilding refined gold." Whether or not the "four huge stones,"¹ long ago reduced to three, "very rough and unpolished, and placed, as it were, in a straight line one from another," which Camden gazed upon, and which in his time were called "the Devil's Bolts," were, as a learned Professor² of whom this county is justly proud, believed, the vestibules of the great Roman camp at Isurium; whatever their origin,³ Roman or British; or for what use or purpose they may have been designed,—I must forbear to inquire; for we have work enough with what is intra- without touching on what is extra-mural at Isurium.

Some thirty-three years ago but little had been done to excavate the treasures deeply buried in the soil. Discoveries, indeed, there had been, such as those described by Mr. Morris in a letter dated from "Aldborough"⁴ (he being vicar of the parish), July 31st, 1708, in which he cites the undoubted evidences existing in his day of the Roman colony which peopled the once proud metropolis of the Brigantes. Abundant traces of wealth and luxury, gems of art, fictile ware of that incomparable perfection of which we can shew you not a few exquisite fragments, coins scattered in profusion, as if their once owners never knew the value of them, "not many older than Claudius, yet some of Augustus Cæsar"; and some "twenty little polished signet-stones of diverse kinds and cuts," with other vestiges of Roman opulence,—were written of, *currente calamo*, by Mr. Morris. But I fear that in Mr. Morris's day no museum acted as custodian to these glorious relics of the past; no archæological association protected them under its sheltering wings; and so Isurium was rifled and despoiled, and scarce the shadow of its once great name remains. In *Domesday Book* you find our city dwindled down into *Bure*; and afterwards

¹ "Sore worn and scalid with weather." (Leland.)

² Phillips. *Excursions in Yorkshire*, p. 16.

³ The length of the Roman stadium was, Dr. Smith says, 606 feet 9 inches. By an admeasurement made Sept. 25th, 1863, the distance from the centre of the extreme arrow at each end was, *in a straight line*, 568 feet; but the middle existing arrow stands out of the line 12 feet. We may fairly suppose that the arrow which was destroyed equally diverged from the straight line. The difference would be readily accounted for by the *circuit* of the two middle arrows made by the chariots.

⁴ Drake's *Eboracum*, pp. 28, 29.

you trace in "Ealdburg" and "Aldborrow" that the antiquity of this place was recognised whilst its grandeur had departed. Camden explains *Ealdburg* as signifying "an old burrough." The Borough Hill still remains. The Election Barn is pointed out. The warmth, the frenzy of our contests here are not obliterated from the recollection of our older *burgesses*. But the old burgh and the still more ancient city¹ are equally things of the past: "the silent stroke of mouldering age" had, in Camden's time, "left few or no signs remaining of a city, the plot thereof being converted into arable and pasture grounds." And of the borough, suffice it to say that the ruthless legislation of modern reformers consigned it to a well known schedule in the Reform Bill in 1832.

"The old walls" of Isurium, writes Mr. Morris, were about four yards thick, founded on large pebbles (*cobbles* is the modern name for them), "laid on a bed of fine clay, now wholly covered with earth; *but laid open* by such as want stones for building, where they have some large stones of sandy grit, taken from a rock of the same in the town." In the garden at Aldborough Manor we have some portions of the city wall which have escaped the hands of the destroyers, and which are well worthy of your inspection. The *outer* face of these *quondam* defences of Isurium must have presented a "bold front" to the enemy; but the inner portion was merely a mass of rubble, which a battering-ram² would quickly have disposed of. These walls of ours encompass a city covering about *sixty* acres of land, forming, as Mr. Wright observes,³ "an oblong rectangular parallelogram." They have furnished an easily and inexpensively worked quarry, as the Colosseum to mediæval and modern Rome, for the supply of the materials for wall-building, etc., when Isurium was chiefly in the hands of a non-resident proprietor. The work of demolition is now, of course, at an end.

You will notice at two different points in your survey, in

¹ At Silchester, says a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Oct. 1863, the name of "city" is still religiously preserved to its deserted site by the neighbouring inhabitants of the district.

² "Ordnance do exceed all arietations and ancient inventions." (Lord Bacon's Essay, *Of Vicissitude of Things*.)

— "labet ariete crebro

Janua, et emoti procumbunt cardine postes."

(*Æneid* II, 491, 492.)

³ Wanderings of an Antiquary, p. 245.

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the Manor Gardens, the number of small rooms and apartments,—whether barracks or not, we cannot pronounce,—closely adjacent to the city wall. From these we have gathered a rich harvest of interesting relics. The inner walls of many of the houses were decorated with a stucco which still displayed its pristine vivid colours: but which, like that described at Nineveh,¹ faded away, and fell to pieces, when exposed to the air. We have, however, specimens in the “Museum Isurianum” which retain their original colour to this day.² I should not omit to mention, in order to explain to you how narrow an escape from total destruction our “city walls” experienced during the last century, that *blind* John Metcalfe,³ the northern “Præfectus Viarum,” had an *eye* to our timeworn fortifications as likely to afford suitable materials for “backing up” the present road leading from Boroughbridge to Knaresborough. This project of Vandalism was never carried out. But I must not, like Monkbarns in the *Antiquary*, set about an Essay on Castrametation: and therefore we will, dismissing these “sermons in stones,” have something better “*in petto* for our afternoon cordial.”⁴

We now come to those tessellated pavements which have justly won for our city the appellation of the British Pompeii.—not, indeed, that we can exhibit anything approaching in beauty to the mosaic picture on the floor of the *tablinum* of the house of the tragic poet at THE Pompeii, which is described by Sir William Gell;⁵ but I think we may lay claim to the possession of Roman pavements which are not excelled in workmanship and perfection by any discovered amongst the remains of the Roman cities in Britain. I would invite you to look closely on these *tessellæ*,⁶ so often trodden by Roman feet, and to notice the minute care with which the whole work has been executed; fully demonstrating, in my opinion, the great antiquity of Isurium, as those pavements bear evidence of the Augustan æra of Roman art and

¹ Layard's *Nineveh*.

² We have uncovered a good section of these “frescoes steeped in subterranean damps.”

³ Smiles's *Lives of the Engineers*.

⁴ *Antiquary*, i, 171.

⁵ Gell's *Pompeiana*, i, 174, 175.

⁶ “The word *tessellæ* was particularly applied to the pavements. It evidently comes from the Greek word *tessera*, four (sided), of which *tessella* is the diminutive, and thus signifies a diminutive cube or die.” (Birch's *Ancient Pottery and Porcelain*, ii, 238.)

civilisation. The pavements which are now laid down in the Hospitium in the grounds of St. Mary's Abbey, at York, are obviously of a much later date than those at Aldborough. You will deduce this from their ruder construction and less polished and finished character. No vestiges remain of those pavements which are figured in Drake's *Eboracum*, and portrayed as being "Roman pavements at Aldburgh." When Drake wrote, these old "floors," as some of our villagers would term them, were accounted, no doubt, an encumbrance upon, rather than a benefit to, the householders on whose premises they were discovered, and were rooted out as worthless. Nor was this radical cure confined to the last century. I remember that, a very few years ago, a pavement which had withstood the ravages of time was doomed to annihilation by its proprietor, simply because the tenant complained of the damage done to his vegetables by the numbers of "curious" travellers invading his garden.¹

Here, perhaps, I might mention that I was informed during last spring, that some labourers who were draining a field in a township about three miles to the west of Isurium, whose name (*Westwick*) will recall some trace of the possibility, to say the least of it, of its having been known to the Romans prior to the Saxon occupation, found a quantity of ashes,—there having been obviously an *ustrinum* there,—and fragments of broken urns; and, as one of them told me, several (as he called them) "checked" stones,—the word "chequered" being so descriptive of our Roman pavements. I saw none of these stones; but it is no great stretch of the imagination to suppose that there might be a Roman or Saxon villa, its treasures still unexplored, in the delightful situation which I have pointed out.

But to return to Isurium. In the gardens of the Aldburgh Arms (the chief Isurian hostelry) you will find two pavements, which will amply repay you for what an old writer would have called your "painfulle peregrinations" in journeying to our metropolis. The pavement first brought

¹ A similar instance, occurring at Bromham in Wiltshire, is thus spoken of anent an excursion to Bromham from Devizes, of the members of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society, in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Oct. 1863: "The party next visited the spot on which a Roman tessellated pavement formerly existed, but which has lately been removed by an anti-archæological farmer, who gave the stone foundation to the road commissioners." (P. 482.)

to light was disintombed in 1832. In its centre is, or rather was, the figure of a panther, or a leopard, reclining beneath a palm-tree. "The picture," says Mr. Wright,¹ "is worked on a white ground with tesserae of five different colours,—red, yellow, brown, black, lilac. It is enclosed in a border of two black tesserae, which form a line, serving as a square frame to the picture." Great artistic skill has been employed in the designing this pavement; and although it has been mutilated to some extent by pilfering hands, and much injured by that (not) "sacred green" which disfigures its "fair colours," still it is a masterpiece of workmanship. This pavement² and the one closely adjacent to it are supported³ by small pillars of red sandstone (*pilae*), probably surmounted by large grey slates, numbers of which have been found in the vicinity of the pavements. The concrete, the unequalled Roman cement, composed, as at Corinium and elsewhere, of "a mixture of pounded bricks and lime," remains almost as impervious as it was on the day on which it was first laid down. The hypocaust kept the floor warm and dry; and the heated air was admitted into the room by flue-tiles, of which you will see a specimen on one side of the very perfect pavement hard by that to which I have directed your attention. You will also observe more distinctly the method of heating the apartments of a Roman house by an inspection of what were the *thermae* of Isurium, at each corner of which were flue-tiles⁴ conveying warmth into the bath-room. As to the materials of which the *tessellae* were often composed, I would refer you to the interesting work on *Ancient Corinium* (pp. 48-54) by Professor Buckman and Mr. Newmarch.

The pavement with the double star for its centre will, I am sure, afford you much enjoyment. I do not think—it may be my Isurian vanity—that you will find, taking it "for all in all," its equal in this country. Mr. Wright⁵ has given full particulars of its dimensions and of its component tesserae. Mr. Ecroyd Smith has the credit of bringing to

¹ Wanderings of an Antiquary, pp. 236-7.

² These pavements are called *suspensurae*,—generally floors of the highest class and of the most ornate description.

³ This we gather from the "supports" standing a few years ago, of floors which had perished, in the garden of the Aldburgh Arms.

⁴ From the *praefurnium*.

⁵ Wanderings of an Antiquary, pp. 238-9.

light this hidden mosaic; but a very juvenile *fossor*, the son of a former innkeeper, was the first, by his "diggings," to give Mr. Smith an inkling, of which he speedily availed himself, of what was concealed beneath the soil. The pavement is no longer mouldy, but its colours are as bright as ever.

Again, other pavements are worthy of a visit from you, especially that long range divided only by a narrow strip of orchard from the garden of the Aldburgh Arms, in which, at the furthest extremity, you will observe the headless figure of a Roman: the figure closely draped, and the feet remain; and under the left elbow six Greek letters,

Ε λ Η
Ε ω υ

made of tesserae of glass, are still visible. What may be the interpretation of these disjointed limbs of words, I venture not to guess; but Mr. Wellbeloved, the talented historian of Eboracum, assured me that Greek inscriptions found in this country were so extremely rare that he could call to his recollection but one other instance, and that was of an inscription in Greek characters pricked upon tin.

One word more on the pavements. You must not omit to explore the wonders of the "ancient Manor House," over whose door you will trace an evidence that the Muses have not quite departed from Isurium. The Roman milestone found at Duel Cross, on the road between Isurium and Eboracum—the inscription on which has been deciphered by Mr. Roach Smith—will be seen within the walls, beneath whose compass are preserved "the Roman works, a great curiosity." The Etrurian pattern of mosaic work (*opus musivum*) is also well worthy of a visit; whilst I hope that our *main street* itself may yield a pavimental *stratum*.

But the *Museum Isurianum*, which, *after your visit*, will be declared to be "opened," embraces a vast variety of specimens of what the uninitiated would style "oddments," but we archaeologists should call Roman refinement and proficiency in art. This Museum has just been transplanted from its former *habitat*, which was too dark and confined. The collection which it contains was mainly gathered together by my late father, one who loved archæology most ardently, and who treasured up, like a true Conservative, every monument of Isurium which the spade disclosed or

the plough upturned. I am endeavouring to follow in his footsteps,—“proximus at longo qui proximus intervallo.” The floor of the Museum is, for the most part, paved with Roman tesserae brought from pavements, many of them rapidly decaying. The north-west side, running parallel with part of the cases wherein our antiquities are deposited, has been relaid in the same figures, and after the same patterns, as when in their original position (*in situ*). Mr. Ecroyd Smith's *Reliquiæ Isurianæ* fully describes the chief contents of the cases. The Samian ware, of which Mr. Birch says, under the head of “Aretine ware,” that it is “of a bright red, like sealing-wax, and covered, like the Greek lustrous vases, with a silicated alkaline glaze,” is one of the leading features in our Roman Pantechnicon. The specimens are mostly fragmentary,¹ but many of them are richly moulded, bearing upon their embossed sides² well executed figures of men and women, animals, etc.

One case, you will notice, is devoted to bottoms of Samian pots stamped with the potters' names. I have recovered about thirty names for this collection, and, on comparing them with the names of potters given in the works of Mr. Birch,³ and of Mr. Wright,⁴ I find the following names of professors of the fictile art unrecorded by the two authors aforementioned, viz.: 1, Bannus, or Bannuus (Bannui m.); 2, Borio (Borio m.); 3, Balbinus (F.); 4, Crankinus (Crankini); 5, Littera (F.); 6, Mamm,—perhaps Mammæus (“Mamm.” and “Mamm. of”); 7, Ovetus (F.). Then we have some names slightly varied from those catalogued in the pages of Messrs. Birch and Wright: *e.g.*, we have—1, Arc. Off. (Mr. Birch gives the stamp as Arco F., whilst the potter is unmentioned by Mr. Wright); 2, one potter's

¹ One or two, probably *ciboria*, are nearly perfect. (*Vide* Birch, ii, 348.)

² Fragments of potters' names appear, in one or two instances, on these embossed sides, as *ISL*. One whole name appears, *IMANNI*.

³ Birch, ii, 409-15.

⁴ Wright's *Roman, Celt, and Saxon*, 467-74. Names of *figuli* found at Isurium on the bottom of pots of Samian ware:

Albus F.	Balbinus F.	Laxtuc(a)	Prisc. m.
Aprilis M.	Burdo	Lupini m.	Quint. (m.)
Arc. off.	Caletini	Mamm.	Rottali m.
Biturix	Calvini o.	Mamm. of.	Secund. m.
Bannu m. (2)	Carati m.	Marcelli	Severini m.
Borilli m.	Crankini	Malle(ci)	Tascilli m.
Ditto, off.	Littera F.	Martini	Vale(ri)
Borio M.	Lutæus Fec.	Ovetus F.	

stamp is *Calvini o.* (Messrs. Birch and Wright have it as *Calvini m.*); 3, we have very plainly *Carati m.*, instead of *Careti m.*; 4, our legend is *Laxtuc(a)*.—Mr. Birch writes *Lastuca*, the name does not occur in Mr. Wright's list; 5, *Malleci* with us, is *Mallici* in Birch and Wright; 6, *Rottali m.* is *Rottlai m.* in the useful enumerations to which I have adverted. These differences are alluded to because, in each case, our pottery is most clearly lettered.

Of black and other earthenware we can exhibit to you cinerary and sepulchral urns found in excavations outside our walls. One light-coloured funereal vase was exhumed during last summer. It was found close to a skeleton, near the original Museum; another skeleton had an urn in immediate proximity to it; a third lay unlesh. Some fragments of Samian ware were scattered about; and a fine coin of Domitian¹ (second brass) having on its reverse *MONETA AVGVSTI*, the goddess of the mint with her attributes, with s.c. in the field, was added to my cabinet. You will notice an *unguentary* vase (so the late Dr. Rigaud pronounced it to be) found near a skeleton in a field, outside our walls, called High Brigges. Another urn, of a reddish-brown colour, from our Borough Hill, is of beautiful design, and almost a facsimile of one which finds a place in Drake's *Eboracum* (plate XIII, fig. 8), amongst "Roman curiosities found at York and Aldburgh." You will not pass what is apparently a Roman garden flower-pot² unnoticed. Next the *mortaria*. Of these vessels we have one or two almost unbroken, and many fragments which illustrate the use to which this species of fictile ware was applied. You will find that a rough surface of minute pebbles, with which the interior of these *mortaria* is often armed, rendered them, as Mr. Roach Smith tells us,³ serviceable "for triturating substances not requiring much force, such as the hard kind of vegetables." The potters' names, or rather initials, are often stamped on the rims of these *mortaria*. The same remark may be used as regards the many handles of Roman *amphoræ* found at Isurium. One Roman *amphora*, in full perfection, is an ornament to our Museum. From its shape

¹ This is a duplicate coin in my collection. *MONETA AVGVSTI* (first brass) is a rare reverse. *Vide Akerman.*

² Eceyrd Smith, plate XXXII; p. 53 also.

³ *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, pp. 62-64.



it appears to have been fixed in the earth. It resembles an *amphora* found at Mount Bures, near Colchester, described in Wright's *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon* (p. 222, fig. 2). We have heads of Roman jars. We have stucco retaining much of its old colouring. We have a case of fragments of glass which, I think, you will not hesitate to pronounce (I tread on brittle ground) to be Roman. We have iron,¹ on which time has so indelibly branded its ravages, that I confidently ask your verdict upon it. We have a varied display of ornaments characteristic of the Roman era, amongst them some twenty *Fibulae*--but not one of them is like that described by the poet,² a brooch of gold--they are of bronze, and we have them both bow-shaped, and circular in form. Dr. Smith, in his *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the head of *Fibula*, says "a lady sometimes displayed an elegant row of brooches, down each arm, upon the sleeves of her tunic, examples of which are seen in many ancient statues."

We have *armillæ*, in bronze; we have *strigiles*, part of the necessary furniture of the Roman bath-room; we have bronze *styli*; we have hair-pins (*acus*), which, at Dorchester (Durno-varia), in the Museum, are grouped together under the name of *spinæ*³--these hair-pins are of bone--the same word serves for the hair-pins, which terminate in a knob, and for the needles through the eye of which there was a passage for the thread, of which we possess several. The mode in which the Roman ladies fastened their hair up, by means of these pins, is explained by Dr. Smith, and may be gathered from the obverse of many of the best preserved coins of the Roman empresses; we have an host of articles to give details of, each of which would require a small "hand-book to the Antiquities"--suffice it to mention a *cochlear*, in every respect, save as to metal, similar to that found at Reculver by Mr. Roach Smith. The ingenuity of Roman epicures must have been taxed in the invention of this "egg-and-snail-consumer."

I shall not leave the Museum without asking you to ex-

¹ The knives and scissors from Richborough (Rutupiæ), figured in *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 342, are an exact counterpart of those found at Isurium.

² "Aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem." (Virgil.)

³ The glass hairpins in the Dorchester Museum are unique.

⁴ Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne, plate VII.

amine the Roman tiles and bricks, arranged on shelves for your inspection. On one square brick, you will read, stamped very legibly, LEG IX HISP. On a flanged tile, you will notice the impress of a goat's foot. You will not pass unnoticed sundry roof-tiles found, as those at Dorchester, with the fastening nails still attached to them. You will be able to trace, in a great measure, the inscriptions on two sepulchral stones, which we have placed within the walls of the Museum. A grim stone idol, supposed to be *Dui*, the tutelar deity of the Brigantes, after whom, perchance, our Dewsbury—in Camden's time Deusborough¹ was named—must be the last *attraction* which I will ask you to bear in mind.

A word or two upon the *Roman coins* found at Isurium, will not be out of place. They range from the time of Nero to that of Magnus Maximus. We have silver, plated, and brass or copper coins—the latter very frequent, but (alas!) no

“Little eagles wave their wings in gold.”

The coins are not found hoarded up—five, I believe, is the greatest number which we have found heaped together. These were of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Faustina the younger (if my recollection is accurate). Those whom I address will agree with Addison,² that the intrinsic value of an old coin does not consist in its metal, but in its erudition”; and further will not “fancy any charms in gold, but in the figures and inscriptions that adorn it.” Our coins, albeit of the less valuable metals, contain a history in themselves; not only the *concisum argentum* in *titulos*, *faciesque minutas*; but also the ‘*æ*s *concisum*’ is a historical epitome.

Mr. Ecroyd Smith gives a full account of the best coins enshrined in our cabinet up to the year in which he wrote—since that time very many more coins have been accumulated, and I will here attempt to describe a few of them. The first (in seniority!) is *Nero*,³ of which we have a silver coin, better rounded than most of his denarii, IMP. NERO

¹ “It resembles *Dui*'s Burgh in sound.” (Camden.)

² Upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals.

³ “The silver coins of Nero are generally ill struck, or are in bad condition. A really fine and round denarius is seldom met with, and will consequently bring a high price.” (Akerman, i, 161, note.)

CAES. AVG. PP—on reverse, a figure seated with . . . CUSTO (s). Of *Vespasian*¹ we are enriched by one silver and three second brass effigies. The silver denarius has on the exergue TRIPOL. This is a remarkable coin. Two coins (second brass) are good types of Roman coinage ; one of them was found about six feet below the present surface of the ground ; it bears upon it a magnificent head of this emperor : IMP. CAES VESPASIAN AVG. COS ; reverse, FORT. Another coin of the same emperor has the Roman eagle, standing on a globe for its reverse. Next, we have two (silver) denarii of *Titus*²—both good specimens—one particularly so, having on the obverse, IMP. TITUS CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. PM. ; on the reverse, an (African) elephant, with the legend TRP. IX. IMP. XV. COS VIII. PP. Of *Domitian* we have found two (second brass) coins, with fine heads ; Moneta Augusti on the reverses—one of them, on the obverse, has IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XII. CENS. P.P.

We hasten onwards to *Nerva*, of whom we have a (second brass, duplicate) well executed profile ; reverse, LIBERTAS PVBLICA. *Trajan* offers us two capitally defined heads (first brass) : but neither of these coins approaches to the unsurpassed specimen, described by Eeroyd Smith, brought to light near the ustrinum. We have three (second brass) coins of *Hadrian* ; the heads of the emperor are in good preservation ; but the reverses bear signs of the coins having been much used. As in the Dorchester Museum, L. AELIVS CAESAR gives us a very fine (second brass) medal, with a draped female figure ; the reverse, an altar, etc. ; on the exergue is PIETAS ; in the field “s. c.” We have, also, a silver denarius of the same emperor. *Antoninus Pius*, whose coins amounted, when Mr. Smith wrote, to “silver (plated and much worn) 1 ; brass, 12 ;” now counts silver, etc., 3 ; brass (second) 18 ; brass (third) 1. VICT. PARTHIA is the legend on the reverse of one of the silver coins. One of the second brass coins bears a rare reverse (*vide* Akerman, i, 270), BRITANNIA ; COS. III, is the legend s. c.

¹ Vespasian had served with distinction in Britannia, “where he fought many battles, subdued two nations, and reduced the Isle of Wight. His son Titus served under him, as a tribune, with much reputation, and bravely disengaged him from a post in which he had been blocked up by the Britons.” (*Suetonius in Vespasian.*, cap. iv, etc.) *Vide* Campbell’s *Survey of Britain*, 1774, ii, 297, note.

² Of “Titus Vespasianus,” Lord Bacon says, “we read he was one of the most beautiful men of his age.” (*Of Beauty*, xlv.)

on the exergue ; a female figure sitting on a rock. Of *Faustina the Elder*, two beautiful silver denarii have been brought to me : one reads thus, as to its inscription, on the obverse, DIVA FAUSTINA ; on the reverse, AVGVSTA ; “Ceres standing holding the hasta (or a torch) and ears of corn (*vide* Akerman, i, 173, sect. 7).

Next in order, is *Marcus Aurelius* : we have one silver denarius, with M. ANTONINVS AVG. GERM. SARM. on the obverse ; and PIET. AVG. TRP. XXXI IMP. XIII COS. III. P.P. ; “a veiled female standing,” on the reverse (*vide* Akerman, i, 281, section 18). We have, also, one (second brass) coin of the same emperor. *Faustina junior*—five second brass medallions, on one of them (Akerman, i, 291, section 15) is “a female figure naked to the waist,” with a child, genii, etc., etc. Another has a funeral pyre, with the legend (COVSE) CRATIO (*consecratio*) on the reverse ; and s. c. in the field. Of *Lucius Verus* I have a laureated head (first brass) VERVS AVG. ARMEN. ; on reverse, a female figure with s. c. *Commodus*, two silver : one with rare reverse (*vide* Akerman, i, 304, section 6) ; one (second brass). *Crispina*, wife of Commodus, one silver medallion, with the legend CRISPINA. AVGVSTA. *Septimius Severus* (silver), one coin : SEVERVS AVG. PART. MAX. on obverse ; reverse, P. M T R P VIII. COS. VII. P. P. *Julia Augusta*=Julia Domna—one silver coin. *Alexander Severus* : of this emperor we have two silver coins.

It is needless for me to speak of coins of the later emperors—these abound ; but the *moneturii* must have been, judging from their coinage, a debased race ; plated coins supplanted silver ; first and second brass gave place to third brass miserably executed.

I must forbear to dwell upon our noble parish church ; in the outer wall of its vestry is a figure of Mercury, of whose temple, it was supposed, remains were found beneath the garden of the vicarage. In like manner, we must omit any dissertation on the Cross, formerly at Boroughbridge, which stands before our infant school. The Roman remains being the chief attraction to such an Association as ours, have, naturally, engrossed the “lion’s share” of this paper. I have not done full justice to the subject. Come, and look around for yourselves. Never, as long as I can avoid it, shall it be said of Isurium, “the very ruins of it also have perished.” (“Etiam periire ruinae.”)



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Palæographer—CLARENCE HOPPER, ESQ.

Curator and Librarian—G. R. WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A.

Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1863.

THE proceedings of the Congress commenced by a meeting of the members of the Executive and General Committees at the Rooms of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Leeds, when arrangements were made for the reception of the President by the Mayor and Corporation at the Town Hall. This took place at three o'clock P.M., after which the officers, etc., accompanied Lord Houghton, M.A., D.C.L. (the President), to the Victoria Hall, where a large number of the associates and visitors had assembled. Dr. John Lee, F.R.S., F.S.A., the President of the preceding Congress, held at Leicester, briefly introduced his successor by a few appropriate and complimentary remarks.

The Mayor then addressed Lord Houghton: "Permit me," he said, "to congratulate your Lordship on the honour and dignity which have so recently been conferred upon you by the Queen. I hope your life will be long spared, and that along with life you may have good health and all other blessings, so that you may fully enjoy this distinction. I also hope that in long succeeding years, and for generations far forward in the vista of time, the name of Lord Houghton will grace and dignify the roll of aristocracy in this kingdom. Permit me, in the name of the Corporation, to welcome you as President, and the other members of the Archaeological Association, to this town; and to say that whatever use you can make of these rooms, we place them entirely at your disposal. Leeds is not altogether a new town. It deserves notice on account of its great manufactures and commerce; and I believe you will find that it possesses also interesting objects of research, from their antiquity."

Lord Houghton then commenced his address, for which see pp. 1-15 *ante*. At the conclusion a vote of thanks, upon the motion of the Mayor, seconded by the Rev. Dr. Atlay, Vicar of Leeds, was carried by acclamation. Lord Houghton acknowledged the compliment, and the

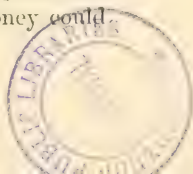
meeting adjourned to the *table d'hôte* at the Queen's Hotel; and in the evening attended a *conversazione*, to which the members and visitors had been invited by the Mayor and Corporation. At this entertainment a large number of the principal inhabitants of Leeds were assembled to meet the Association, and every attention rendered to make the evening agreeable.

In the Civil Court arrangements had been made for the reading of papers, the first of which was as follows, by Dr. P. O'Callaghan, the Hon. Local Secretary, on—

“THE MACE OF THE BOROUGH OF LEEDS.

“I have asked permission to exhibit on this occasion the mace, or civic sceptre of the Leeds Corporation: in the first place, because most of our corporate maces are relics of ancient times with interesting historical associations; and in the next place, because the history of this identical mace is peculiar.

“You will observe that it bears upon it an engraved inscription which states that it was made by a goldsmith of the name of Maingee, ARTHUR MAINGEE DE LEEDS FECIT. Well, this revered emblem of municipal loyalty was made in 1694; and the goldsmith who made it, the Wilkinson or Hurst of those days, was hanged for high treason two years afterwards. The circumstances of his trial and execution are so extraordinary, that I have ventured to bring them under the notice of this meeting. Mr. Maingee was arraigned at the summer assizes held at York in 1696, before the Lord Chief Justice Turton. The charge was for high treason, in counterfeiting the lawful coin of the realm. The chief witness against Maingee was an approver of the name of George Norcross, a supposed accomplice. The late Mr. Norrison Scatcherd, of Morley, has left us a long detailed account of this trial in manuscript; and from this document it would appear that the prosecution was conducted as much by the Chief Justice who tried the case, as by the counsel for the crown. Norcross proved that he was employed by Maingee as a clipper at 5s. a day, and that he saw him not only clip the sheets of base metal into the size and form of the intended shilling or halferown with shears; but that he also saw him stamp it on both sides, by striking it heavily with a forge hammer on a balk in the roof of his house (in a secret chamber). This witness was supported in his statement, by a man and woman whose stories were very incoherent. For the defence, Maingee asked the cryer to call Captain Burton; the cryer declined to do so, saying that he was not obliged to call prisoners' witnesses. However, on Maingee's paying him for this duty, Captain Burton was called. He swore that he had gone with a person accidentally to Leeds, and examined the prisoner's house, and that he did not believe it possible that base money could



have been made in the manner described by Norcross. The judge, addressing witness, said, 'Pray tell me, Captain Burton, how you came to go to Leeds on that occasion. I am confident you must have been employed by Mr. Maingee, or by somebody else. Pray what is your employment?' Captain Burton: 'I am comptroller of the mint in York.' Judge: 'A very pretty man, to be employed in the king and country's service, and come here in evidence against the king, and encourage rogues, and that which now the nation grieves under. I will promise you that I will know in another place, how you came hither.' Captain Burton: 'My lord, I had not come, if one of your lordship's servants had not told me you sent for me.' Judge: 'Where is that officer? Let him be found immediately, and I'll clap him by the heels, and if the person was here that came with you, I would do as much for him.' After a similar examination of several of his witnesses, conducted in this manner, Maingee at last endeavoured to throw discredit on Norcross's testimony, by proving him to be a man of notoriously infamous character, and even a bigamist. With this object, Susanah Norcross was examined. Susanah: 'I am the wife of George Norcross.' Judge: 'Who married you?' Wife: 'A very honest gentleman, my lord.' Judge: 'What was he?' Wife: 'A Roman Catholic priest, my lord.' Judge: 'A very honest gentleman indeed. Were you married in church or in a house?' Wife: 'In a house, my lord.' Judge: 'Were you married by the Book of Common Prayer?' Wife: 'No, my lord.' Judge: 'Mr. Maingee, whoever advised you to bring this woman missed the matter. She has done you hurt, and no good.'

"In summing up, his lordship concluded thus:—'Gentlemen, if you believe what has been proved against Mr. Maingee to be true, you are to find him guilty. But, on the contrary, if you believe what Maingee and his witnesses tell you, and discredit the evidence for the king, you are to find him not guilty. But, as far as I can see, gentlemen, it appears otherwise. But it is not I, but you, who must be his judges in this case. I have no more to say to you, gentlemen.'

"I believe you will all agree in thinking, that his lordship had said quite enough. The jury, of course, under such direction, brought in a verdict of GUILTY; and Maingee was sentenced the same evening (26th August) to be drawn on a hurdle to the common place of execution, and there to be hanged as a traitor. Maingee's last appeal was heart-rending in the extreme. He stood up in the dock, holding a son by one hand, and a daughter by the other, and addressed his judge in the following words:—'I beg your lordship in the midst of justice, to remember mercy, and to have pity on my poor children. These are the eldest of seven, and their mother is lying at this moment at the point of death, after child-birth.' Judge: 'Mr. Maingee, you should have considered the loss which your children would have when it was

in your power to prevent it. It is not in mine now to shew you any favour.' However, urgent applications were made in Maingee's behalf to the government, and he was actually twice reprieved. But in the end, the chief justice's influence prevailed, and the unfortunate jeweller was executed on the 3rd of October following. Norcross then accused Alderman Ibbetson, Mr. Blayds, Mr. Totty, Mr. Walker, and several other respectable burgesses of being concerned in this extensive system of coining base money, and selling clippings to Maingee. But in these cases, his testimony was unsupported and discredited, and the bills were thrown out by the grand jury. After this break down, Norcross disappeared from Leeds. It was reasonably supposed that Maingee was most unjustly convicted, upon such disreputable testimony, especially, as he made a solemn asseveration of his innocence, after receiving the sacrament, on the morning of his execution. At the same time, he entirely exonerated those fellow citizens who were included in the same accusation by Norcross. Maingee, in fact, was universally considered a murdered man, if not a martyr.

"Now comes a curious sequel to this tragic story. It happened that it became necessary to pull down Maingee's old house in Briggate, in 1832, just one hundred and thirty-six years after his execution. The site of this house is at present occupied by three new houses, a few doors below Kirkgate, nearly opposite to Green and Buck's, the Grocers. In stripping off the roof of this old house, the workmen came upon a small secret chamber, and on the floor of this chamber they found these two pairs of shears or clippers, the very tools with which Norcross swore Maingee and himself used to clip the coins.

"Here we have two dumb witnesses, brought forward after this long lapse of time, to corroborate the discredited evidence of this approver of infamous reputation. How very fortunate for the worthy Alderman Ibbetson, Messrs. Blayds, Totty, Walker, and Co., that this concealed chamber was not more carefully examined before their indictments were quashed by the grand jury at York. For it is otherwise quite possible (with the sanguinary laws by which forgeries especially were punished in those days, indeed, even up to the present century), that Alderman Ibbetson and several other respectable burgesses, before whom this identical truncheon was often borne in imposing civic procession to the old parish church, might have been all hanged as accomplices of the unlucky goldsmith.

"This is all I have to say about the Leeds mace. Indeed, I ought to apologise to your lordship and this meeting, for introducing a subject which is not strictly archæological. But, considering the curious circumstances of this singular trial, and its local associations,

and especially the place in which we are now assembled, I trust that it will not be deemed altogether inappropriate or uninteresting.”¹

The President humorously observed that they knew the occupation of the aldermen in Leeds was very different to that of the gentlemen to whom Mr. O’Callaghan had introduced them. No doubt they were busily engaged increasing Her Majesty’s coin, but it was by industry in a better employment than clipping it with their hands. They were much indebted to Mr. O’Callaghan for his paper.

To the reading of this paper succeeded the following communication from Mr. Clarence Hopper, palæographer of the Association :—

“ To His Highness Oliver Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Irelande.

“The humble petition of y^e inhabitants of y^e towne and parish of Leedes, in y^e county of Yorke, whose names are in several schedules hereunto annexed menconed,²

“Sheweth—That your petitioners doe, in all sincerity of heart, blesse y^e Lord for his glorious appearance of late to this nation, under the conduct of your Highness, and y^e great good hand of y^e Almightye hath bin your guardian in all your upright undertakings for y^e prudent governing of this commonwealth. And in y^e first place wee doe cordially promise our endeavours to y^e preservation of your highness and y^e peace of this nation against all petulant or common adversaries whatsoever to our reformation. Next to our present greivances, wee declare, that about y^e second yeare of y^e late king, y^e said towne and parish being a place of much trade in clothing, was made a corporacion, consisting of one alderman, nyne burgesses, and twenty assistants; but, by reason y^e patent was unduely and indirectly procured without a general consent of y^e clothiers and inhabitants, divers defects and imperfections did appeare therein, many discontents and inconveniences did happen to arise amongst y^e people, and did occasion divers vexations, suites, differences, and troubles, not only to y^e great damage and prejudice of y^e clothiers and inhabitants, but also to y^e Commonwealth. For appeasing whereof, it was agreed, that y^e said patent should be sur-

¹ A writer in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for January last, under the signature “H.” from Sheffield, questions the justice of Dr. O’Callaghan’s conclusion as to the guilt of the goldsmith. The finding of common tools, without the discovery of dies, coins, base or otherwise, effects of hammering on a balk, etc., a hundred and thirty-six years after the occurrence, can scarcely, he thinks, be deemed sufficient evidence to confirm his iniquity. The whole appears to rest upon the value of the testimony of the principal witness, who swore to having seen the operations performed.

² Attached are the several schedules alluded to, containing autograph signatures and marks of five hundred persons or upwards. The petition itself is undated; but by the reference signed by Thurloe, and inscribed thereupon, it would appear to be 1 December, 1656.

rendered and a new charter be procured for a corporation consisting of a maior, twelve aldermen, and thirty comon counsell, with amendments for y^e defects of y^e former, and such other alteracions and additions, as should be thought fitt. In pursuance whereof y^e said aldermen, burgesses, and assistants did surrender y^e said patent, and petitioned for a new charter, when the king was at Nottingham. But y^e warres then begun; nothing was acted therein. The government ceased till 1646. At which time, some of y^e present governours, contrary to y^e forme of y^e said patent, tooke upon them to revive the said government onely by one exemplification out of y^e chancery, and made themselves to be governours. At which, y^e clothiers and inhabitants being again discontented, divers suites and differences did arise by their oppressions; untill in y^e year 1647, for ending and quietting of y^e same, it was agreed, with generall consent, that a new charter of incorporation should be procured, consisting of a maior, twelve aldermen, and a comon counsell, as before, to be elected indifferently, throughout y^e whole towne and parish, which was then endeavoured, but not effected. Since y^e said governours doe rule and act illegally, as may appeare by their unjust by-laws and ordinances (whereby they oppresse y^e poore clothiers and much prejudice that trade), their unlawful taxes put upon the people and other their missearriages; besides their imprisoning men's persons wrongfully, taking their goodes, thereby enforcing them to y^e obedience of their unjust demands, to y^e great damage and disquiett of y^e inhabitants and disturbance of y^e publique peace, as by an inquisition, remaining now in y^e Pettybagg office, and otherwise may appeare.

"Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, that for removing of their oppressions and greivances, and for y^e better government of the saide towne and parish, your Highness will be graciously pleased to call in y^e said patent, and to grant a new Charter of Incorporacion, consisting of a maior, twelve aldermen, and thirty comon counsell, to be indifferently chosen as aforesaid, and power joyntly to elect a burgesse to sitt in Parliament with such alterations, additions, and clauses, as your highness' wisdom shall think fitt.

"And your petitioners shall ever pray, etc.

"His Highnesse is pleased to referre this petition to the consideration of the Councill.

JO. THURLOE."

1st December, 1656.

Thanks having been voted to the authors for their respective papers, the audience joined the general body of visitors, and participated in the festivities which had been so bountifully provided for them by the Mayor and Corporation. The proceedings for the next day and order of business having been announced, the party broke up at a late hour,

highly gratified by the generous manner in which they had been received and entertained.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 13.

The Associates and Visitors quitted the Queen's Hotel, Leeds, at 9 A.M., in carriages provided for the excursions, and proceeded first to Adel, where they were received by the Rev. H. Trail Simpson, Rector of the Church, upon which Edward Roberts, *Hon. Sec.*, made the following observations.

"Though the records of the Church of St. John the Baptist at Adel are meagre, and the church itself has undergone some changes, yet both records and fabric unite in leading us to nearly absolute conclusions. Local antiquaries, however, adduce some, so-called, proofs of an earlier origin or foundation than I can assent to, as regards the present church; and these will be noted as I proceed. First amongst the suggestions is that of the building being on the foundation of a Roman temple. That it might have been the site of a temple is certainly not impossible, and the discovery of some remnants of Roman columns, which are now in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Simpson, lead inevitably to the conclusion that some structure of importance was in the neighbourhood. The vicinity of the camp or station of Adelocum (not more than three or four hundred yards to the north), and the discovery of foundations, would induce the belief in a considerable extent of buildings. The origin of this belief seems to have been derived from a statement made by Thoresby;¹ but this should have been dispelled by the subsequent history published by Whitaker,² wherein he refers to and examines Thoresby's error. The church certainly did not exist at the time of the compilation of Domesday Book, not that its omission from that document affords a conclusive proof, but because the deeds prove to the contrary, and its architecture forbids the assumption. It is curious, however, to see that in so small a church there are several periods of architecture in its construction. One portion, and perhaps the earliest, is the plain squared Norman walling,—this has been supposed by those on the spot to be Roman masonry taken from the adjacent camp, and rebuilt here. It is, however, different in shape and tooling from Roman ashlar, and is quite consistent with all examples of squared Norman masonry. I therefore unhesitatingly pronounce against that assumption—in fact, the church, excepting much later alterations, presents to us a pure specimen of late Norman, though in several stages. Mr. Whitaker gives views of the chancel arch, and its sculptured capitals, the south porch, and an elevation of the north side of the church; it is therefore unnecessary to do more than refer to his

¹ Topography of Leeds, Lond., 1715, p. 161.

² Loidis and Elmete, fo. Leeds, 1816, p. 176.

publication.¹ He has also given a very good general account in the same work, and it will consequently suffice to give a summary, correcting such matters as a greater study of mediæval antiquities enables one better to do now than when he wrote half a century ago.²

"Mr. Whitaker does not give the *Domesday* entry quite correctly: I therefore transcribe it properly, so far as applies to this manor: "Terra Comitatus Moritonienensis. In Adele ipse Aluuard hab' 1 Man' de 1 caruc' & dimid' ad gld' ubi poss' ee' 11 car. Ricard' ht' & wast e' Silva past' 1 leu' lg' & 1 lat' Totu' man 1 leu & dimid' lg' & 1 leu' lat' T. R. E. val' X sol'."

"The next valuation, Pope Nicholas's Taxation,³ 1292, is of the church, and is not noticed by Whitaker or any other writer. It is therein described as newly taxed at £10, the ancient tax having been £10 : 13 : 4.

"That the present structure was commenced and finished in the reign of King Stephen, I have no doubt, and not "before the year 1100", as Whitaker infers,⁴ in forgetfulness, apparently, that Kirkstall, to which abbey William Painell's grants apply, was not founded under that name for more than half a century later, namely, about 1154, the close of Stephen's reign. This William Painell, the date of whose grant is unknown, recites that he gives the lands which the villeins gave to the church of Adel on its dedication.⁵ This does not lead us far, though it is supposed that the villeins' gift was within the memory of living persons—the deed itself is not preserved. Allowing Painell's deed to be about 1180 or 1190 (and the similarity of the seals of other deeds whose dates are nearly fixed, would lead to about that date, and not earlier), then about 1150 or 1140 might probably be the limit of the endowment. Roger Mustel, who held lands under Painell, also granted lands to Kirkstall. It is not so stated, but I think it likely that he was the tenant assenting to the owner's grant of the same lands: about 1210. William Mustel,⁶ the son, gave all the soc of Adel and the advowson of the church to Kirkstall. In 1198, the church is mentioned as compounding with the abbey of Kirkstall for twenty shillings, in lieu of tithes for the abbey property in the parish due to the rectory.⁷ The Charter of Henry II, confirming to Kirkstall all their lands, makes no mention of Adel—this charter is undated. The evidence on the other hand, is a grant of Ralph Paganel, and a charter of confirmation to the priory of the Holy Trinity of York, by Pope Alexander II, in which this church is mentioned; and Whitaker states, that this priory held

¹ Loidis and Elmete, pp. 174-83.

² There are also some views in an anonymous work, *The Churches of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1842-3), pp. 34-38, and a plan, p. 33. The account is, however, taken from Whitaker.

³ Vol. ii, pp. 3b, 299, 323b, 334b.

⁴ Loidis and Elmete, p. 177.

⁵ Stevens, *Hist. Monast.*, ii, 46.

⁷ *Ib.*, ii, 45; *Monasticon*, v, 549; Burton, *Mon. Ebor.*, 288.



Adel before it was granted to Kirkstall. The date of this charter is given as between 1086 and 1087.¹ It is incidently mentioned, that the monks of Kirkstall disputed the title of the Holy Trinity.

"If this proves anything, it proves too much; for, on reference to Sir H. Nicolas's *Chronology*,² as well as to Mosheim,³ who is quoted by Whitaker⁴ as giving Alexander's death in 1086-7, I find that Alexander II died in 1073, which would be before the *Domesday* record; and Whitaker distinctly states that the church did not then exist. If any such document exists, it may have reference to an antecedent building, or part of this, which may have been erected earlier (and a piscina of earlier style gives some foundation to the opinion), and have given way to a more ornate building. In Pope Nicholas's Taxation, Adel paid a pension of £6:13:4 to the Holy Trinity Priory. The value is now upwards of £600.

"Whitaker gives a list of the rectors from 1242 to 1809—forty-one incumbents.

"The church consists of the simple early form which small parishes usually adopted in Norman times. The nave internally is forty-seven feet six inches, by twenty-one feet six inches. The chancel is twenty-five feet nine inches, by eighteen feet; the walls being about three feet thick. This was the original extent; for there is no appearance of a tower or sacristy. The nave has on the north side four short and very narrow deeply splayed windows twelve feet from the floor; the south side has but one; it is barely probable that they were as numerous as on the opposite side, but altered when the porch was appended, and subsequently; there are no signs of them remaining. The large windows on the south side are of three lights, and were inserted in lieu of the ancient openings many centuries later, and denote the period when the reading of the service by the congregation began to be of importance. The west windows are modern, and contrast, in an unusual degree, with the ancient parts from the disparity of size. The chancel had narrow windows, like the nave. Two on each side, and three at the end. Two of the latter still show externally; though the centre is replaced by a large window. The roof is flat inside, and has probably replaced an old roof of the same form; but panelled and not plastered as the modern one is.

¹ Dugdale's *Monasticon* (1718), p. 71, states that "Ralph Paganel gave to the Priory of Holy Trinity at York," certain endowments including the church of St. John at Adel, with "consent of King William the Conqueror and others," and that Pope Alexander (*not Alexander II*) confirmed all the grants. The deed itself is recited at p. 682, with the confirmation in the fourteenth century. The refoundation by Paganel is given as in 1089, which would be in the time of Rufus.

² *Chronology of History*, pp. 199, 208, 393.

³ *Eccles. Hist.*, edit. 8vo., Lond., 1845, ii, 676.

⁴ *Londis and Elmete*, p. 178. Whitaker admits a chronological difficulty even with supposition of Alexander being alive in 1086.

“The sculptured chancel-arch and its supporting shafts form its chief attractions. It will be remembered that some discussion occurred when the Association viewed a similarly sculptured chancel-arch at Avington.¹ This is of the same character, but not ruptured as that was. It consists of three orders, or sub-ribs, sculptured, the first or innermost with zigzags; the second with a ladder raised in a large billet-shape; the outer with overlapping heads—these heads all differ but three—some have double masks; one of the latter being reversed; one is devouring another; one is of two fish. Each stone has a complete subject as usual. On the chancel side there is no sculpture beyond the commencement at one springing, but abandoned: this accords more with the sculpture on the porch. The capitals have sculptures, which are well preserved, and have amongst them Stephen’s badge of the centaur, the clothing being after the character of the Bayeux tapestry; and the baptism of Christ—this is an allusion to the dedication of the church to Saint John. This kind of ornamentation is not uncommon, and some of about the same period have been figured; one at Pitsford, Northampton,² occurs in Baker’s *History*. The west door of Bakewell Church, Derby, has a rich archway with two series of heads. Two of the neckings of the shafts at Adel have carved cables. There are some similar at Petersfield, Hants.

“The exterior has the original Norman string-courses under the windows; but they have been cut away to insert the more recent windows at a lower level. The very interesting porch and corbel tables have been the subjects of much controversy and speculation. The latter consists of a not unusual arrangement of heads as supports to the table, with a scalloped notching to form a sort of arch between the heads, but the singularity is in the buttresses which slightly project and extend in height only so far as to interfere with the heads, the arching running through on the top of the buttresses. These buttresses are irregularly placed, and most likely have been additions. There is, I believe, no other instance of this kind; for, where buttresses and the corbel tables exist in the same building, they unite in forming a kind of panel or recess, and the corbels or heads appear to support the projection of the table. The west wall has considerably settled outwards, and the gap has been filled up in such a manner as to show that the settlement has been subsequent to the building of the corbel table and the buttresses.

“The porch has the same character as the chancel arch, and has clearly been added to the church and after the buttresses; the capitals of the shafts are sculptured, and three of the four orders of the arch are also carved, the innermost being in this case carved with ani-

¹ *Journal of the Association*, vol. xvi, p. 58.

² *Hist. Northants*, ii. Plate of doorways.

mals' heads; but here they are all nearly alike. The pediment is also filled with sculptures in panels, having figures emblematical of the Father, Christ and the Evangelists. The door has a Norman ring-handle in extraordinary relief, consisting of a head said to be of Satan, and a plain ring, knotted; the head is that of an animal devouring a human form. The priests' door has probably been inserted. Inside the porch door are the mortices for a strong bar, leading to the supposition that the church had been used in troublesome times as a place of safety. The distance from the ground and narrowness of the windows, which are not more than six inches wide, would confirm this view.

"It seems to me, that the building presents appearances which warrant us in believing that the church was begun about the year 1130 or 1140, and that it was either stopped in its progress or was afterwards partly pulled down and the corbel table added, so as to admit of some greater ornament—the settlement at the west end had probably taken place, and the addition of the only kind of buttress then in use, would necessitate their insertion of buttresses elsewhere. The chancel arch and porch were then sculptured and added. The bell turret is a modern addition, in lieu of a modern cot; the sculpture built in the west gable probably had no prototype there.

"In the vestry is a part of a pillar piscina (already referred to) which is certainly earlier than the church—it may have been a part of a preliminary chancel on the first founding of the church.¹ There are also some pieces of the original oak roof-plates, scalloped like the external corbel table, and a chest iron bound, apparently of the fifteenth century. There are some stone coffins lying in the churchyard of the usual thirteenth century type, and in the coach-house of the rectory, and in the vestry, several portions of Roman altars² and pillars, and a votive stone inscribed, picked with a point in a rude circle round a *priapus*, PRIMUS MENTLA. Under the north-west corner of the nave, just visible amongst the vegetation, and jutting out irregularly from the foundation, is what appears to be an ancient sculptured slab; there are indications of five annular bosses. I am promised by the rector that this stone shall be extracted, and it may possibly be found to be similar to those Celtic incisions which have been the subject of recent examination."³

From Adel the party proceeded to Farnley Hall, the seat of F. H. Fawkes, Esq., to inspect his fine collection of pictures and other objects of general interest. Here the Association had the opportunity of viewing several master-pieces of ancient and modern art, among which are some of Turner's first productions. Mr. Fawkes most

¹ See *ante*, p. 62.

² Two of these are figured by Whitaker, p. 182.

³ I am indebted to my friend R. D. Chantrell, Esq., for many particulars of the state of the church before the restorations.

courteously accompanied the visitors through the Hall and several rooms, all abounding with costly specimens of workmanship and curiosity. Here he also exhibited numerous fine examples of carving, the seal of the Commonwealth, a watch which had belonged to Oliver Cromwell, a drinking-horn manufactured from a shoe of General Fairfax, etc. Returning thanks to Mr. Fawkes for his obliging attention, the Association quitted Farnley Hall and proceeded to Ilkley, the Olicana of the Romans, and inspected the church and crosses to be found in the churchyard, which will be particularly described by Mr. T. Wright in the next number of the *Journal*, accompanied by illustrations. The church could not boast of an antiquity at all equal to that of Adel, it being in the first pointed style, early in the thirteenth century. Mr. Gordon Hills thought a portion of it might be of an early period. He also pointed out a fragment remaining of the old Roman wall, establishing its claim to having been the Olicana of the Romans. The weather proved unpropitious, and the company were unfortunately hurried in their inspection of this place, and necessitated to make their way back to Leeds, where, after having refreshed themselves at the table d'hôte, a meeting was held at the Lecture Room of the Philosophical Hall in the evening.

W. E. FORSTER, ESQ., M.P., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The first paper read was by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., giving an account of Anglo-Saxon antiquities, discovered by the late Lord Londesborough at Seamer lime quarry, near Scarborough. This will be printed *in extenso*, and appear, with illustrations by Mr. Fairholt, in the *Collectanea Archaeologica* of the Association. A slight discussion regarding some of the objects of jewellery amongst them took place, and a vote of thanks to Mr. Wright was passed.

Mr. J. R. Planché, Rouge Croix, Hon. Sec., was then called upon to deliver his paper on the "Badges of the House of York" (see pp. 18-33 *ante*). Thanks were voted to Mr. Planché, for his valuable communication, and a paper read by Andrew Sherlock Lawson, Esq., of Aldborough Manor, on "Isurium," previous to the visit of the Association on the following morning (see pp. 39-51 *ante*). Thanks were voted to Mr. Lawson. The remainder of the evening was occupied in the exhibition of the autographs of Richard Duke of York, the father of Edward IV; also of Edward IV, by Dr. O'Callaghan, referred to in Mr. Planché's paper on the "Badges of the House of York." The thanks of the meeting having been, on the motion of R. N. Philipps, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., seconded by Dr. Lee, V.P., voted to W. E. Forster, Esq., M.P., for his services in the chair, the same were duly and eloquently acknowledged by the chairman, and the proceedings for the following day announced, upon which the meeting was adjourned.

(To be continued.)

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 13, 1864.

NATHANIEL GOULD, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE Chairman announced that the Council had that day the honour of enrolling George Tomline, Esq., M.P., of Orwell House, Ipswich, and Carlton Terrace, London, in the List of Associates, and had nominated him to the Presidency of the Congress of 1864, which it is determined shall be held at Ipswich in the month of August.

Samuel Waterhouse, Esq., M.P., Hope Hall, Halifax,
Gustavus W. Hamilton, Esq., 46, Huskisson Street, Liverpool,
William Powell, Esq., 27, Bucklersbury,
Herbert W. Taylor, Esq., 2, Wallbrook,
were also elected Associates.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:—

- To the Society.* Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 59. 8vo.
 „ Archæologia Cambrensis. No. 37, Jan. 1864. 8vo.
 „ The Journal of the Canadian Institute. No. 47, Nov. 1863. 8vo.
 „ Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny Archæological Society. No. 41, for July 1863. 8vo.
 „ Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Art Union of London, 1863. 8vo.
To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for January 1864. 8vo.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a group of objects recovered towards the close of 1863, from the mud of Dowgate dock: among them may be specified the following: 1. Rude handle of an implement fashioned out of the distal half of the metatarsus of the ox. It is nearly six inches long, the lower part cut to fit into a square socket and receive a round tang. 2. Bronze implement five seven-eighths inches long, with spear-shaped blade, round stem and flat disc at end—a spatula? 3. Knife upwards of seven inches long, the blade and tang wrought out of a flat piece of iron, perforated with two round holes and a broad loop at the end. A similar knife, but with its bone handle still remaining, is figured among

the "Roman Utensils and Implements", in Mr. Roach Smith's *Catalogue*, p. 72. 4. Finger-ring of brass, sculpted with a bold chevron round the hoop, and on the inside are cut the letters vv. v. 5. Bone disc an inch and one-eighth in diameter, engraved with a five-petaled rose within a triple-ring border, and perforated in the centre for a stud or rivet, by which it was affixed to either cloth or leather. It is probably an example of the *ruell-bones* employed as decorations for head-dresses, belts, and bridles, of which mention is made in *The Turnament of Totttenham*—

"A gay girdle Tibbe had borrowed for the nonce,
And a garland on her head full of *ruell-bones*,
And a brouch on her brest full of sapphyre stones."

Mr. Irvine exhibited a group of objects found in excavating for the foundations of the new Foreign Office. Among other items are two iron keys, one with a reni-formed bow of the end of the fifteenth century, the other with a spiring bow of the sixteenth century; a pewter spoon of Elizabethan type, but probably of an early period; and a leaden half-pound weight of the seventeenth century. This weight in general aspect resembles one of the time of Charles I, engraved in the *Journal*, viii, 309, but differs in one important detail. On it is stamped the "angel and scales" of the Plumbers' Company, and the dagger of the City of London; but instead of the crowned C as in the former example, there is a shield charged with the Cross of St. George, indicating that the weight is of the time of the Commonwealth.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a leaden two-pound weight on which the City dagger is of a more slender make than the foregoing, and has the grip annulated, whereas the hilts of the others are plain. Date, second half of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Gunston also exhibited a leaden half-pound weight of the time of Elizabeth, bearing on its face two stamps—*viz*, ER ensigned by a crown or coronet, and the City dagger. It was lately found at Islington.

The Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., exhibited what he considered to be a bethrothal ring, of silver gilt, found in November 1863, in lowering the hill to form the new cemetery at Ringwood, on the road leading out of that town to Crowe. It is a guilloche hoop, with the device of a heart flanked by quatre-foil flowers, the arched foot-stalks of which issue from the top of the heart. This device brings to mind the emblem of William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester (1447-86), given in the *Journal* (x, 161), but the ring would appear to be rather subsequent to his time. For a notice of other rings with the device of a heart, see *Journal*, xviii, 284.

Mr. Kell also produced a curious bonbonnière of brass, two inches and a half in diameter, the sides chased with rhombs, scrolls, flowers, etc.



The top chased with a dove holding a branch in its talons, and surrounded with a broad margin composed of eleven square slabs of mother-of-pearl, alternating with the same number of triangular slabs of black tortoise-shell, the contrast of the two substances forming a brilliant mosaic. Date, second half of the seventeenth century.

A third object submitted by Mr. Kell was a fine silver medal upwards of three inches and one-eighth in diameter, of Christian Ludovic, Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg in Celle (1648-1665). *Obv.* In the centre within a wreath is the monogram *CL*, ensigned by a coronet, and surrounded by fourteen shields, charged with the Arms of the Provinces of the Duchy, all ensigned like the monogram. *Legend*—SINCERE ET CONSTANTER ANNO 1650. *Rev.* An arm issuing from the clouds, holding a wreath over the head of the white horse of Hanover, beneath which is a hilly view with buildings, cattle, etc. The margin on each side the medal is neatly decorated.

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited various antiquities discovered in the neighbourhood of Canterbury towards the close of the year 1863. Among them a fine and perfect lachrymatory of glass, a small patera of Samian ware, an olla of grey terra-cotta, and an operculum of a small mouthed vessel of red terra-cotta with a central perforation through which a cord was passed and knotted beneath to serve as a handle.

The following communication from the Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., was received and read, in relation to the

ANCIENT SITE OF SOUTHAMPTON.

“On several occasions I have drawn the attention of the members of the Association to the contents of Saxon bone-pits in Southampton, as they have been discovered at the lower end of St. Mary’s Road, forming a continuation of the Saxon bone-pits first described by J. R. Keele, Esq., in the *Collectanea Antiqua* (vol. 4, p. 58), and there considered as indicating the *ancient site* of Southampton.¹ I have now to add, that in February last, on the laying of the foundation of two houses between the Edinburgh Hotel² and the houses in St. Mary’s Road, formerly described as being built over these pits, the tops of other bone-pits of the same kind were uncovered. I had the opportunity of observing the excavation for the foundation of these buildings, which were not laid deep, owing to the elevation of the contiguous road; but sufficient depth was reached, in my opinion, to shew their identity as Saxon bone-pits. One of the workmen informed me that seven shillings a day had been obtained by extracting the bones from these pits, and that he had sold tips of fifty or sixty deer horns. During the considerable time that this piece of land has been exposed to the public for sale, coins have been found in it; and among them a sceatta, of which a notice was

¹ Journal, vol. xiii, p. 207; vol. xvi, p. 333; vol. xvii, p. 231.

² Formerly called the Deanery Inn.

forwarded by me to the Association.¹ As the entire portion of the west side of St. Mary's Road is now built on, no further excavations can there be made; but it is not improbable that similar bone-pits may be found on the opposite side of the road which is now a ploughed field.

"Besides these bone-pits, large collections of animal bones have been, at different times, found indiscriminately scattered through the neighbouring district. I particularly observed five years ago, when the portion of the public land before South Front was converted into a park, that large quantities of animal bones were gathered up from the ground by the inhabitants. Mr. John Smith, of the Ordnance Survey office, whose residence in Southampton carries his experience back to an earlier date than mine, observed fifteen years ago similar bone-pits to those described by Mr. Keele in the part of the Hogland. Persons were employed during many weeks there in digging up the bones. Exact information of the site of the bone-pits described by Mr. Keele about Bevois has been obtained from Mr. Thomas Seaford, the person employed by the proprietor of the field (Capt. Bradley), from 1825 to 1833, the whole time the clay was excavated, who confirmed Mr. Keele's account, and added several interesting particulars. He stated that on digging out the clay, the labourers came to as many as six or eight streets from twenty to thirty feet wide, several of which crossed each other. The gravel on the surface of the streets was from four to six inches thick, and the clay under the streets had never been in any way disturbed. They often obtained four or five cwt. of bones in a day when they came to what they called a 'good hole.' Among the various animal bones were those of the deer, the ox, the sheep, and the hog; fowl and fish bones, oyster and mussel shells, etc. They found only the *tips* of deer-horns—the remainder of the horn having been worked up for articles found among the *débris*.

"Captain Bradley informed me he had observed layers of oyster shells put over some of the pits. He had also remarked *wells for water*, which were sunk deeper than the pits and filled with bones, etc. He had had in his possession, from the Saxon cemetery, two or three glass vessels, which were similar to those figured 15 and 16 in Akerman's *Archæological Index*, as belonging to the Anglo-Saxon period; and also a large torque of metal silvered over. It will be remembered, that Mr. Keele has given in the paper in the *Collectanea Antiqua* already referred to, a description of the Saxon cemetery on the site of Grove Street,² and that our former Associate, the late George Atherley, Esq., forwarded to our Association on another occasion an account of Saxon funereal relics found in that vicinity.³

"I have been kindly permitted to inspect Capt. Bradley's collection of scattæ and Saxon coins, obtained by him personally from the

¹ Journal, vol. xviii, p. 386.

² Ib., vol. iv, p. 58.

³ Vol. v, 162.

labourers employed in digging out the clay. Of them, eleven were found in a little box, and still look as new as if they had never been used. These coins form a considerable addition to those described by Mr. Keele and Mr. Atherley as in their possession, and that of John Bullar, Esq., and of Mr. Whitchurch, who, as a coin collector, Capt. Bradley informed me had obtained a considerable number. Capt. Bradley also mentioned that before he commenced the collection of coins from these pits, a considerable number had been dispersed. One of the sceattæ above described, had been found at Hogsmount, about a mile from this site, and bordering Clausentum. It is to be regretted that these Saxon coins and relics are not deposited in the Museum in Southampton, where they might be accessible for general use.

"When the transference of the town from what was called the 'Old Hamptune' to the new took place there are no records. From the numerous sceattæ and other coins dating from Otho to Aethelred found in these pits or on this site, the old town may have been occupied soon after the Saxon settlement, and was in existence in the latter monarch's reign in 978. The dreadful devastations inflicted on the old town by the Danes in 838, 860, and especially in 980, may have suggested the desirableness of removing the population to a superior site for defence, such as that afforded by the high land on which the castle was erected, and on which the present fortifications stand, flanked by the rivers Teste and Itchen.

"The tradition among the inhabitants of St. Mary's, which Leland describes as existing in his time, of the removal of the population from the old to the 'New Hamptune', will be more satisfactorily accounted for by referring it to a sequence of this last Danish attack or to the Norman era, than to the time of the sacking of the town by the French pirates in Edward III's reign, to which that historian ascribes the change, as that attack by the French was undoubtedly made on the new town.

"The erection of the present walls of Southampton is generally ascribed to the latter half of the twelfth century, when so many fortifications were raised.¹ The castle we know, from a political engagement into which Stephen entered respecting it, existed in his reign. Sir Henry Englefield is inclined to ascribe a greater antiquity to the walls than the Norman era;² but in this opinion he does not appear to have been followed. He considered that the very ancient edifices now called 'God's House' and 'Canute's Palace', were built before the construction of the south wall of the fortifications—the latter edifice being, at least, of the date of that monarch's reign. Whatever opinion may be entertained respecting the contemporary occupation of the tongue of land

¹ Journal, vol. xii, p. 326.

² Englefield's *Walk through Southampton*, pp. 53 and 56. Bullar's Edition.

on which the present fortifications stand during the Saxon period, of which, from the absence on its site of Saxon coins and relics, and of all historical notice, we have no information; on one point I think there can be no doubt, that there was an old Saxon town on the *site of the land* I have been endeavouring to describe."

The coins, of which impressions accompanied the preceding communication, consist of eleven sceattæ, fourteen Anglo-Saxon pennies, two Carolingian, and one Scottish penny.

The sceattæ comprise specimens, if not entirely similar, yet very much resembling Ruding, Plate 1, No. 8; Plate 2, No. 2, two specimens; ditto, No. 6, but with eight circles round the centre instead of seven; ditto, No. 18; Plate 26, No. 10; Hawkins, Plate 3, No. 44. There are two others, both having a dragon on the reverse. The obverse consists of five rosettes, each formed of a large pellet surrounded by nine smaller. One of these circles is in the centre of the field; the others within the arms of a cross of the same shape as on the reverse of a coin of Offa (Ruding, Plate 5, No. 34). The type is engraved in Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii, Pl. XLIV. Another has a rude profile-head to the right; and on the reverse a Latin cross between two annulets. The types of one or two others are not to be described with certainty from the impressions.

The Anglo-Saxon pennies are as follow:

1. CUTHRED, king of Kent, 798-805. *Obv.*, + CVTHRED REX, without portrait; in the centre a cross with a wedge in each angle. *Rev.*, + PERHEARD in the arms of a tribrach; a wedge in each angle. Ruding, Plate 3, No. 3.

2. OFFA, king of Mercia, 757-796. *Obv.*, OFFA REX, in two lines across the field; *rev.*, a moneyer's name, which is not distinctly legible on the impression sent; in the centre a cross botoné, with small pellets or wedges in the angles. This coin appears to differ from any published. The obverse resembles that of Ruding, Pl. 5, No. 26; the reverse is something like the first coin of Offa figured in Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, Plate XXIII of vol. i.

3. COENVULF, king of Mercia, 796-818. *Obv.*, + COENVULF REX M.; diademed head to the right. *Rev.*, + DVDA MONETA; in the centre a cross botoné upon a quatrefoil. *Obv.*, Hawkins, No. 73; *rev.*, No. 71.

4. *Obv.*, + COENVULF REX M.; head to the right. *Rev.*, + HEREBERHT; in the centre a cross crosslet. Ruding, Pl. 6, No. 3.

5. *Obv.*, + COENVULF REX, without portrait; in the centre M. *Rev.*, SEBERHT in the arms of a tribrach; a pellet in each angle. Ruding, Pl. 7, No. 26.

6. BURGRED, king of Mercia, 852-874. *Obv.*, + BYRGRED REX; head to the right. *Rev.*, + TATEL MONETA, in three lines across the field. Ruding, pl. 8, No. 16.

7. *Obv.*, EYRGRED REX; head to the right. *Rev.*, BERITIEL(?) MONETA, in three lines across the field. Ruding, Pl. 8, No. 20.

8. Uncertain Archbishop of Canterbury. *Obv.*, ÷ LYNNINC MONETA; full-faced head of an ecclesiastic. *Rev.*, DOROBERNIA CIVITAS, in four lines, across the field. Ruding, Pl. 13, No. 3; except that the coin there engraved bears the name of Archbishop Wulfred (803-830). From the similarity of the reverse and of the head on the obverse, there can be little doubt that this and other specimens, which bear the name of the moneyer only, belong to that prelate. A coin of this type, and of the same moneyer, occurred in the Devonshire Collection.

9. ETHELBEARHT, 855-866. *Obv.*, ÷ AETHELBEARHT REX; head to the right. *Rev.*, ÷ BAEGMYND MONETA in the form of a cross, the last four letters in the angles. Ruding, Pl. 15, No. 1.

10. EDWARD THE ELDER, 901-925. *Obv.*, ÷ EADVVEARD REX, without portrait; in the field a small cross. *Rev.*, VVLFGAR MO., in two lines across the field. Ruding, Pl. 17, No. 30.

11. *Obv.* as No. 10. *Rev.*, VVLFGEARD MO.; type as No. 10.

12. *Obv.* as No. 10. *Rev.*, GRINVALD MO.; type as No. 10.

13. *Obv.* as No. 10. *Rev.*, AETHERED MO.; type as No. 10.

14. *Obv.* as No. 10. *Rev.*, BEORNERE MO.; type as No. 10. The last two coins are something less in diameter, and the crosses on *obv.* and *rev.* are larger.

The Carolingian coins are both of Charlemagne, 800-814. 1. *Obv.*, CAROLVS, in two lines, across the field. *Rev.*, MEDOLVS; in the centre an ornamented cross. The place of mintage thus indicated is uncertain. (See Lelewel, *Numismatique du Moyen Age*, vol. i, pp. 99-101.) 2. Another coin of the same monarch. *Obv.* something like the last; the *rev.* is undecipherable in the impression sent. The general type of these two coins will be seen in Lelewel's Plate VI, Nos. 4 and 5.

The remaining coin is a Scottish penny, which appears to be of William the Lion (1165-1214), of the type of Lindsay's Plate 2, No. 43.

With the exception of the piece last mentioned, the extreme period over which the coins of certain attribution in this parcel extend, is not quite a hundred and seventy years,—that is, from A.D. 757 (the first year of Offa) to A.D. 925, the last year of Edward the Elder; and as the reign of Offa lasted thirty-nine years, and that of Edward twenty-four years, the probability is that the range is considerably within these dates. With regard to the coins of Edward the Elder, it is indeed almost certain that those of the type above described are of the earlier part of his reign; because in the great hoard discovered at Cuerdale in 1840, the bulk of the English portion of which consisted of coins of Alfred, there was a small number of Edward the Elder, which comprised specimens of the type in question and of that with the head, but not a single example of the varieties with buildings, birds, ornaments,

etc. (Ruding, Plate 16, Nos. 6 to 27.) It, therefore, follows that the latter formed the coinage of the later part of his reign, and the types which were found in company with the coins of his father Alfred were those of his earlier years.

The date of mintage of the sceattæ cannot be accurately stated. These pieces, from the occurrence of Roman types upon some of them, are evidently the link between the Roman coinage and the Saxon; and they were most probably struck during a period of about two centuries after the departure of the Romans, until they were superseded by the Anglo-Saxon penny. The type of two of the sceattæ which have been described, seems to connect them with the coinage of Offa. Those on which the cross appears, or the type of which is cruciform, of course are subsequent to the introduction and establishment of Christianity. The Scottish penny is separated from the latest of the other coins by so long an interval that it seems very doubtful whether it really came from the same deposit as the others. It cannot be of earlier date than 1165, and probably is much later, as William the Lion's reign lasted from that year to 1214. [J. B. B.]

A paper "On the History of Wakefield and Sandal Castle," by George Wentworth, Esq., of Woolley Park, was read, which will be printed in the *Journal*.

The following paper by H. Syer Cuming, Esq., Hon. Sec., was read:

"ON THE HISTORY OF SLINGS.

"According to Lucretius—

"Man's earliest arms were fingers, teeth, and nails,
And stones and fragments from the branching woods."¹

Such, indeed, would seem to have constituted the chief, if not the only weapons of offence and defence possessed by man in his primitive condition. The first missile was a *stone hurled by the hand*, and this ready weapon was adopted by many nations of antiquity. Diodorus Siculus (iii, 49) records that the only arms carried by the Libyans were three spears and a bagful of stones; and even among the Romans, the *accensi*, who formed the lowest rank of the *levis armatura* or light-armed troops, were provided with no other weapons than stones, which they cast with the hand.² The earliest and most simple mechanical means devised for giving an increased impetus to the missile was the *sling*. Pliny (viii, 56) ascribes its invention to the Phœnicians; Vegetius (i, 16) to the natives of the Balearic Isles; but both the period and country of its origin are in truth lost in the night of antiquity. The sling was used by many ancient nations. Warriors armed with it are depicted on the walls of Egyptian buildings, and from such representa-

¹ *De Rerum Natura*, v, 12-2.
1864

² Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, i, 20.
10

tions, it would appear that the weapon was formed either of leather or plaited cords; and that it was charged with round stones, which were carried in a small bag suspended from a belt over the shoulder. Slings made of cords are still used in Egypt to drive away birds from the corn fields.

"The sling was a favourite weapon with the Hebrews; and it is recorded in the *Book of Judges* (xx, 16), that in the tribe of Benjamin "were seven hundred chosen men left-handed; every one could sling stones at an hair-breadth, and not miss." It was with this weapon that David went forth to give battle to Goliath, the terrible giant of Gath; and it is asserted that the Church of Dobersam in Mecklenburgh, possesses *one of the identical stones* with which he was provided on this memorable occasion.¹ 'Slings to cast stones' are particularly mentioned as part of the warlike stores collected together by Uzziah King of Judah.²

"The sling does not occur as an Assyrian weapon on the earlier monuments of Nineveh, although it appears in the hands of a vanquished people: but in the sculptures of Konyunjik, the Assyrian soldiers are frequently armed with slings, which seem to have consisted of two ropes, with a thong, probably of leather, to receive the stone. The warrior grasped the sling in his right hand and swung it round his head, in his left hand he held a second stone, and generally at his feet are seen a heap of pebbles ready for use.³

"We gather from Xenophon (*Anabasis*, iii, 3) that the Persians were expert slingers, using very large stones, and so well practised in their art that they could annoy their enemies whilst out of the reach of their darts and arrows. And the same author says of Cyrus, that 'all those he disarmed, of the several nations that he subjected, he obliged to practise the sling, counting it a servile sort of arms; for there are occasions when slingers, accompanied with other forces, are of very great use; but, when a force consists all of slingers, they are not able, of themselves, to stand against a very few men, that march up close upon them with arms proper for close engagement.'⁴

"Although the Greeks were, doubtlessly, familiar with the *sphendone* or sling at a very early period, it does not seem to have ever become a favourite weapon with them; indeed, it would appear to have been even looked upon by some with contempt. The Acarnanians were, however, celebrated in early times for their skilful use of the sling,⁵ as were also the Ætolians and Achæans, especially those who dwelt in Agium, Patræ, and Dyne, whose slings were formed of three thongs of leather.⁶ The

¹ Nugent's *Travels in Germany*.

² II Chron. 26, 14.

³ Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, 3rd ed., ii, 341, 343.

⁴ *Cyropædia*, b. vii. Ashley's Translation, London, 1803, p. 291.

⁵ Thucydides, ii, 81.

⁶ Livius, xxxviii, 29.

Syracusians likewise adopted the sling as a military weapon; for Herodotus (vii, 158) states, that when the Grecian ambassadors went to solicit Gelon to aid them against Xerxes, the monarch offered them, among other troops, two thousand slingers. Dionysius describes the *sphendone* as having its 'cup not hemispherical, but hemispheroidal, decreasing to two thongs at the ends. Out if it were cast stones, or plummetts of lead, called *molubdides*, or *molubdinai sphairai*; having an ornament on one side, and the word ΔΕΞΑΙ on the other.' These leaden pellets weighed from eighteen or twenty pennyweights up to a hundred drachms. They have been found at Athens, Ithaca, Marathon, and elsewhere. In form, they are much like an olive, pointed at each end. They were cast in moulds, and frequently bear the figure of a thunderbolt or a spear-head; some also have the name of the owner on them, or such words as ΠΕΙΡΑ (*pierce*), ΑΙΜΑ (*slaughter*), ΔΕΞΑΙ (*take this*), ΑΓΩΝΙΣ, and others. I exhibit a leaden bullet obtained from the tomb of the Plataeans at Marathon, and therefore an undoubted relic of the famous battle fought on the 28th of September, B.C. 490. It measures one inch and seven-sixteenths in length, and weighs one ounce, eight pennyweights, thirteen grains. On one side is a Greek legend arranged in two lines thus ΠΟΛΕ
ΜΙΟΝ.

"Virgil (*Æneid*, ix, 587) alludes to the leaden sling bullet where he says—

—"The Tuscan king

Laid by the lance and took him to the sling;

Thrice whirl'd the thong around his head, and threw

The heated lead, half-melted as it flew."¹

"Leaden bullets of the same form as those of Greece were used by the Romans, by whom they were termed *glans*.² They frequently bear devices and inscriptions, such as FIR. for *firmiter* (*throw steadily*), FER for *feri Roma* (*strike, O Rome!*)³ FVGITIVI PERITIS (*fly well?*) ITAL. (*Italia*), GAL. (*Gallia*), etc.

"Bullets of stone were, however, far more common among the Romans than the leaden *glans*; and our Associate, Mr. C. Warne, enables me to lay two examples before you, exhumed on spots which abound with Roman remains. The smallest is of black flint, found with a portion of another stone by Mr. Warne in his own garden at Ewell, May 1862. It is reduced to a somewhat spherical form by rough tooling, and weighs rather over seven ounces. The larger specimen of grayish chert, was discovered with many others of the same character at Jordan Hill, near Weymouth, Dorset, the presumed site of the Roman station *Clavinium*, weighing three-quarters of a pound, and must have been a most deadly missile.

¹ Dryden's Translation, ix, 796-99.

² Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 61; Livius, xxxviii, 20, 21, 29. ³ Inscript. ap. Orelli, 4932.

"Besides stones and leaden bullets the Romans employed glans of terra-cotta. I produce an example of well-baked dark-grey clay of compact texture; fusiformed, two inches and three-eighths in length, and weighing one ounce fourteen pennyweights eight grains. This, with other like bullets, was found, I believe, at Nismes, in the south of France; and its material brings to mind what Cæsar says in his *De Bello Gallico* (v, 42): 'ferventes fusili ex argilla glandes fundis.'

"The Roman *Funda*, or sling, was formed of leather; and soldiers armed with it are seen on the Trajan column, where they appear carrying the stones in the sinus of their pallium.¹ The *Funditores* were a corps attached to the *levis armatura* or light-armed division of the army.² They were unprotected by armour, and fought alone with their slings; their duty being to harass the enemy at any point to which they were directed. The *Funditores* were generally from the Balearic Isles. They were considered the best slingers, equal to, if not surpassing, the early Hebrews and Achæans; and their slings, unlike those of other nations, were formed of a kind of rush.³ Florus (iii, 8) and Strabo state that they had three kinds of slings, some being large, others short, to use according to their proximity or distance from the foe; and Diodorus says that one kind served them for a fillet, another for a girdle, and the third was carried in the hand. They hurled stones of a much larger size than those employed by other nations; and according to Ovid (ii, v. 727), they also made use of leaden bullets. The chief care of the Balearic parent was to instruct the son in the use of the sling; the mothers, it is said, not allowing their children to take food until they had brought it down from a beam with this favourite weapon.⁴

"Besides the *Funda*, the Romans had what they termed the *Fustibulus*,⁵ a weapon known in after ages by the name of *staff-sling*. It consisted of a stout pole three or four feet long, with the receptacle for the stone attached to one end: it was whirled round with both hands, and cast forth bullets of a large size with terrible force.

"We have good grounds for believing that the archaic tribes of the Britannie Isles were well acquainted with the sling; for stones, evidently intended to be used with it, have not unfrequently been found in the early barrows of this country and Ireland. The simple loop-formed sling was denominated *arwestyr* by the Britons; but both they and the Hibernians had a weapon called *fon-dwyll* by the former, and *crann-tabhall* by the latter, both names signifying *throwing-staff*. It probably closely resembled the Roman *fustibulus*, and is certainly the instrument spoken of by Davydd ap Gwylim in one of his poems—

"'Thou too, slinger, with well-seasoned wood, wound the thief.'

¹ See Bartoli, *Col. Traj.*, t. 46.

² Livius, i, 43.

³ Strabo.

⁴ Vegetius, i, 16; Strabo, iii. The skill of the Spanish slingers of the middle ages is alluded to by Froissart, iii, 307.

⁵ Vegetius, iii, 14.

"The sling and its deadly effects are frequently alluded to in Irish annals. We are told that at the battle of Moy Tuiredh, fought before the Christian era, Balor of the one eye was slain by a sling stone cast by Kethlenn, the wife of the Dagda. Furbuidhe, an Ulster prince, who was counted one of the best marksmen of his day, killed Meave, Queen of Connaught, with a sling-stone thrown at her across the Shannon, while she was enjoying her bath near Innis-Clothran. From the metrical story of the *Tain-bo-Uailgne*, or great cattle raid of Louth, we learn that Meabh, also a Queen of Connaught, was pelted with sling-stones by order of Cuchullin when he and Leathan measured strength together. And that when Cuchullin met MacDalot in battle he cast his sling-stone with such force and precision that it passed through the latter's head, driving the brains out at the back of the broken skull. The Irish ladies seem to have suffered much from the slingers' craft; and, as a further instance of the fact, reference may be made to the *dinmseanchus*, in which we read how the poetess Dubh was killed by a sling-stone, and falling into the Linn or dark pool of the Liffey, the spot was called after her *Dubhlinn*, now contracted into *Dublin*.

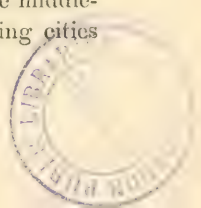
"In the *Book of Lismore* is an account of the battle between Callachan Cashel and the Danes, fought near Limerick about the year A.D. 920, where we are told of the Irish that—"their youths and their champions, and their proud, haughty veterans, came to the front of the battle to cast their stones, and their small arrows, and their smooth spears on all sides," and Giraldus Cambrensis says of this brave people, that they were 'very dextrous and ready beyond all other nations, in slinging stones in battle, when other weapons fail them, to the great detriment of their enemies.'

"Mallet mentions the sling as an ancient Scandinavian weapon;¹ and we may therefore conclude that it was also used by the Anglo-Saxons; indeed, in some MSS., we see sportsmen engaged in bringing down birds with it.

"At the battle of Hastings, *Balistarii* or slingers formed part of both the Saxon and Norman armies, and from this period until the close of the fourteenth century they constituted an important element in every military expedition.

"We find slings of two kinds represented in MSS., the most simple consisting of a cup with two cords, one terminating in a loop which passed round the fingers, the other in a tassel which was let fly when the stone was discharged. The other variety was the *stuff-sling*, which we have already seen was known to the Romans under the name of *fustibalus*, and to the Britons under that of *fon-daryl*. In the middle-ages, this sling seems to have been chiefly employed in besieging cities

¹ Northern Antiquities, ed. 1847, p. 166.



and in naval engagements, the soldiers using it being placed in the turret of a fortress or the topcastles and forecastles of vessels.

"In the *Romance of Richard Cœur de Lion* (fourteenth century), we read of—

"'Staff-slyngers that smyte well.'

And we are also told of Sir Fulke D'Oyley that at a siege of a town in the Holy Wars—

"'Foremost he sett his arweblasteres,
And after that his good archeres,
And after his staff-slyngers,
And other with scheeldes and with speres.'

"Mention is made in the *Romance of King Alexander* of—

"'Fiftene thousande of foot laddes
That sword of bucklers hadde,
Axes, speres, forkis, and slynges,
And alle stalworthe gadelynges.'

"These sturdy fellows were no doubt supposed to have been gathered from the peasantry who were noted for the use of the sling in their feats of skill, for the defence of their flocks, and also in hunting. Thus, in the metrical tale of *King Edward and the Shepherd* (fourteenth century) the rustic exclaims—

"'I have slyngs smort and good';

and proudly declares—

"'The best archer of ilk one
I durst meet him with a stone,
And gif him lefe to shoot.
There is no bow that shall laste
To draw to my slyng's cast.'

"In a poem entitled *Knyghthode and Batayle*, written about the commencement of the fifteenth century, it is said—

"'Use eke the cast of stone, with slynge or honde :
It falleth ofte, yf other shot there none is,
Men harneysed in steel may not withstande,
The multitude and mighty cast of stonys ;
And stonys in effecte are every where,
And slynges are not noyous for to beare.'

"In Barclay's *Eclogues*, 1508, a shepherd boasts—

"'I can dance the raye ; I can both pipe and sing,
If I were mery ; I can both hurl and sling.'

"And old Leland in his *Itinerary*, when describing the Island of Portland, tells us—'The people be good there in slyngging of stonys, and use it for defence of the Isle.'¹

¹ A rare example of the military sling, probably of the latest form, is preserved in the Museum at Boulogne. It has a leathern cup for the stone, and

"But in spite of boast and encomium, it would appear that at the close of the fourteenth century, the sling, as a *military weapon*, had been almost entirely superseded by the *arcubalist*, *arbalest* or *cross-bow*, a light kind of which, called by the French *arbalète-à-jalet*, and by the English *prodd*, was made with two strings with a square piece of bone or ivory placed between them for discharging *stone bullets*; hence the weapon acquired the title of *stone-bow*, a name rendered familiar by Shakespeare, who, in his *Twelfth Night* (ii, 4), makes Sir Toby Belch exclaim, when speaking of Malvolio—

"O for a stone-bow, to hit him in the eye!"

The weapon is also alluded to by Beaumont and Fletcher—

—"children will shortly take him

For a wall, and set their stone-bows in his forehead."

The stone-bow must not, however, be considered an European invention, for the natives of the Dekkan have for ages employed a bow provided with two strings and a cross-band of cloth, for shooting pebbles.

"But neither slings nor prodds could keep their ground against the growing use of fire-arms; hence Donne says in his poems (p. 122)—

"Rams and slings now are silly battery,
Pistolets are the best artillery."

"Bidding adieu to the sling of the old world, we must next view it in the hands of the warriors of the new. The records of the discovery of America by the Northmen in the beginning of the eleventh century make mention of *Skrællings* or the Esquimaux being armed with slings which they wielded with great dexterity.¹ And Sir George Back states that the Esquimaux whom he visited 'make a most effective use of the sling.' The weapon has also been observed among the *Yookulty* of Nootka Sound. A neatly-made sling has been discovered in an ancient cemetery at Pachicamac in Peru;² and the sling is still numbered among the arms of the Fuegians.

"The sling is found as an aboriginal weapon in the Sandwich, Marquesas, and Radack Islands; and also in the Duke of York's Island, New Hebrides, New Caledonia,³ and Tahiti; but is not used by the New Zealanders.⁴

to it is attached a movable piece of iron, which may have served to confine the bullet in its place until it was discharged. The side-straps are of leather stamped in ridges, and coloured alternately red and yellow; and to these are fixed long pieces of coarse but strongly woven sackcloth, each piece terminating with a ball decorated with blue and red worsted.

¹ Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 258.

² Pickering's *Races of Man*, London, 1850, p. 13.

³ Labillardiere's *Voyage in Search of La Perouse*, pl. 38, contains figures of a sling from New Caledonia, and also one of the oval stones, and the oblong bag in which the stones are carried.

⁴ Pickering's *Races of Man*, p. 76.

"Mr. Ellis, in his *Polynesian Researches* (i, 490), when describing the native arms, says: 'The most dangerous missile was the *writi* or stone, from the *ma* or sling. The latter was prepared with great care, and made with finely braided fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, or filaments of the native flax, having a loop to fasten it to the hand at one end, and a wide receptacle for the stone in the centre. The sling was held in the right hand, and, armed with the stone, was hung over the right shoulder, and caught by the left hand on the left side of the back. When thrown, the sling, after being stretched across the back, was whirled round over the head, and the stone discharged with great force.'

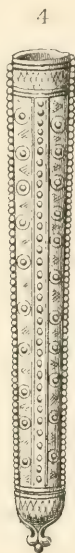
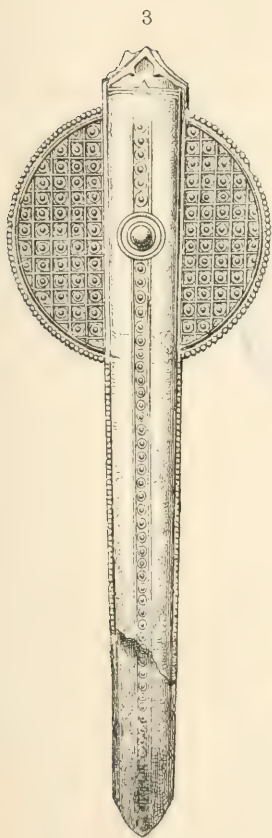
"I place before you three fine examples of Oceanic slings, viz., from the Sandwich Isles, Tahiti, and Tanna, of the New Hebrides group. That from the first-named locality is made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, and has the lateral cords of a quadrangular form, the one terminating in a long loop to be held in the hand, the other in a bunch of fibres. The fold for the stone is of an oblong-square form with its surfaces both within and without knotted.

"The sling from Tahiti, though composed principally of cocoa-nut fibre, is wrought in a different manner from the Sandwich Island weapon. The receptacle for the stone is smooth and oviformed, with a slightly raised edge. One of the lateral cords is round, and either made of, or bound with, the fibres of *phormium tenax*; the other is flat and ending in a small loop to pass round the fingers.

"The third specimen, that from Tanna, is made like the last; but the cord which is provided with the finger loop terminates in a head, bone-slider and tassel of human hair, some of which is short, curly, and black; the rest long, lank, and of a light-brown and grey colour, the trophy locks, no doubt, of slaughtered enemies!

"The foregoing specimens are of high interest as comparatively modern examples of a most primitive implement of strife, proving as they do that though the arbalest and hand-cannon have long since driven the sling from the battle-fields of Europe, it yet finds a lurking-place in the distant islands of the Pacific Ocean, where the warrior still wields it, as it was wielded, when the earth itself was young."

A short time prior to the lamented decease of our most excellent Associate Mr. C. Ainslie, he transmitted for exhibition an interesting group of leaden, or rather pewter, objects found in London in 1862, of which the following is a brief description: 1. Lion-shaped brooch of the early part of the fourteenth century recovered from the Thames. The king of beasts is represented passant gardant, crowned, and the tail brought in a double fold over the back, just as he appears on some of the seals for the recognizance of debtors in the time of Edward II (see Pl. 3, fig. 1). This curious brooch may be typical of the sign Leo, whose astral influence was believed to extend over the breast, and if so, it





must be regarded as an amulet, and classed with the zodiac rings described in our *Journal* (xiii, 254, 310). The majority of mediæval trinkets had probably a talismanic or religious motive; hence we not unfrequently find the busts of saints and martyrs doing duty as brooches, an instance of which occurs in the next specimen from the Thames (fig. 2), which presents the face of an ecclesiastic with pyramidal mitre with jewelled titulus and circulus, pearled edge, and terminal cross. It is, like the lion, of very fine workmanship, and contrasts strongly with the clumsy and ignorant efforts of the modern forger. The two following objects Mr. Ainslie suggested had served the double purpose of brooches and toothpick-cases (figs. 3 and 4). The largest was exhumed in Clerkenwell, September 1862, and represents a sword-sheath placed across a buckler, the mouth of the former being sloped off just as we find the scabbards on monumental effigies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the face of the buckler is divided by fine lines into many squares each containing a boss, and the edge is neatly pearled. The smaller sheath is straight across the mouth, and has an ornamented crampet, chape, or boteroll, but is unaccompanied by a target. It was found in the Thames. The concluding object, also from the Thames, represents a "Tree of Life"—a stately palm with spreading branches and the Serpent of Immortality crawling up its stem (fig. 5). According to tradition, the transverse beam of the Saviour's Cross was formed of palm-wood; hence the tree was regarded with special reverence in the middle-ages, and the religious nature of this little relic becomes apparent.

JANUARY 27TH.

GEORGE VERE IRVING, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

- To G. Wentworth, Esq.* Photograph of Heath Old Hall near Wakefield.
 „ „ Drawing of the Arms of Heath and Dalston.
 „ „ Ditto of the Earl of Warren.
To the Society. Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and
 Archæological Society. Vol. i. Part II. Leicester, 1863. 8vo.

Mr. Irvine exhibited the upper half of an exceedingly rare example of a highly embossed tile, one of the few which have been discovered on the site of Whitland Abbey, Caermarthenshire, South Wales, and of which mention is made in the *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1839, p. 597. The tile, when entire, measured about seven inches and a quarter each way, and was nearly one inch in thickness; and bore in the centre the holy lamb supporting the banner of the cross encircled by a broad band, on which are arranged, at equal distances, four shields charged as follows :

1st, a bend; 2nd, two bars; 3rd, a chevron; 4th, a cross. Between the shields are placed a peacock, peahen, dragon, and lion, and in the spandrels are fleurs-de-lys. On the back of the tile are conic hollows, to permit the cement to take a firmer hold of it. Some of the Whitland tiles are stated to be glazed; but the moiety now produced shews no trace of glazing, the whole being of a dull red hue. The tiles from this abbey are undoubtedly of the thirteenth century; but it is worthy of note that in several churches in the west of England, as at St. Decuman's, Somersetshire, and Westleigh, Devonshire, may be seen some highly embossed tiles of a very late era; some at Tawstock, in the last named county, bearing the initials T. W. and date 1708.

Mr. H. Syer Cuning exhibited an encaustic tile of the end of the fourteenth century, stated to have been found in the ruins of the old Palace of Segontium, Caernarvonshire, North Wales, in 1832 or 1833. It is stamped with the device of a five-petaled rose within a circle formed of interlaced straps (like that on a tile from Duffield, given in the *Journal*, vii, 387), the device being in flat relief, and the whole surface covered with a glaze composed of protoxide of lead. When the face of a tile was intended to appear level, and of two colours, the device was stamped in *corcello*, and filled with white clay; but in the tile now produced the field is the sunken portion. Tiles of this kind are of rather rare occurrence, and no doubt had their origin in the highly embossed quarries of an earlier period.

Mr. S. Wood exhibited some objects discovered at Maidstone, destined to form part of the local Museum: 1. Encaustic tile of the time of Edward I, measuring about five inches and a quarter each way, and bearing a shield,—ermine or gutte (?) in chief, three lions rampant,—said to be the arms of Aveling of Dover. 2. Polychromic gally-tile, one of a set of four to the pattern; the white glazed surface painted with flowers, etc., in blue, orange, yellow, and green, in a similar style to the specimens described in the *Journal* (xviii, 375). Date, sixteenth century. Both these tiles were found with others in pulling down an old house in the High-street. 3. Small iron knife, the blade stamped with a bunch of grapes and a dagger, the ivory handle having the iron pommel and deep ferrule inlaid with gold. Date, sixteenth century. Recovered from the bed of the river Len, a small stream running past the Archbishop's Palace into the Medway at Maidstone. 4. Black leather shoe with high heel of a red colour, and the long square toe which made its appearance in England about the year 1665, and was at the height of fashion during the reign of William and Mary, to which period this specimen must be referred. The extreme length of the shoe is ten inches, and the end of the toe nearly an inch and a half across. Found at the same time and place as the abovementioned tiles and the pewter spoon described in the *Journal* (xix, 330).

Mr. Wood also exhibited two thin gally-tiles (four forming the set) bearing a geometric pattern of Morisco design, the interlaced lathe-work being white on a blue field. Date, close of the seventeenth century. Found, with other tiles of the same kind, in Bow-lane, Cheap-side.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming laid before the meeting a gally-tile of precisely similar design to the above, but in which the interstices of the white lathe-work are painted deep blue, red, green, and yellow, producing a most pleasing and rich decoration, perfectly oriental in aspect. It is of delft manufacture, and of rather earlier date than Mr. Wood's specimens.

Capt. Tupper, F.S.A., transmitted three pseudo-antiques professed to have been recently exhumed. One is a key cast in cock-metal, its octangular bow being occupied by a cross. The rest of the objects are of lead, and consist of—1st, a vesica-shaped shrine with perforated lid representing an angel; 2nd, shield-shaped badge with an equestrian knight on one side, and the date, 1020, on the other; 3rd, large medallion with a similar knight on one side, and two seated figures holding a staff between them on the opposite; 4th, a smaller medallion with a full face, crowned, on one side; and a warrior with sword in left hand, and a cross-staff in right hand, on the reverse. All these leaden things have loops for suspension, and bear unmeaning legends. These articles, Capt. Tupper says, were bought by a friend of his, last Saturday, of a man dressed as a "navvy," at Paul's Chain, in which locality he declared that they had just been found many feet from the surface.

Mr. Gould, F.S.A., V.P., produced a badge and medallion of similar character to the above, which he had purchased of a "navvy" a few days since, and denounced the forger in strong and well-merited terms.

Mr. Levien, F.S.A., declared that, within a very short time, enough of such rubbish had been brought to the British Museum to fill a large wheelbarrow.

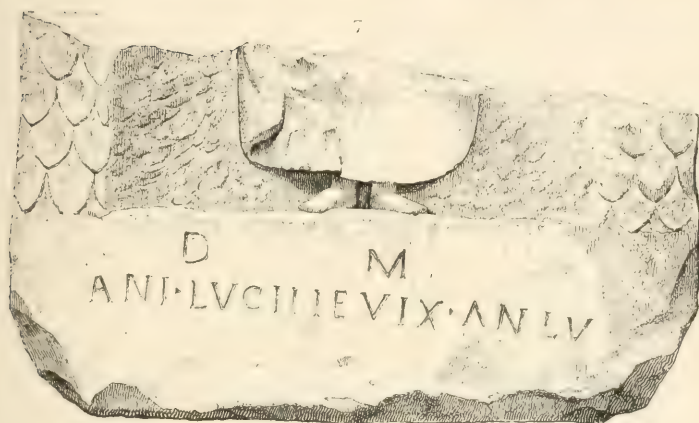
Mr. H. Syer Cuming stated that the objects now submitted, like all he had examined at other places, taste strongly of the nitric acid into which they are dropped *hot* from the plaster-of-Paris moulds in which they were cast; and further, that it is a fact important to both vendor and purchaser to know that any one selling these forgeries commits an offence against the law, and renders himself liable to prosecution for obtaining money under false pretences. Articles of cock-metal are rather new in the market. Mr. Irvine said he recollected a place in Clare Market as long as fifteen years ago, where these metal keys could be purchased.

Mr. Geo. Collins exhibited two photographs of the Bartlow Hills, now threatened with injury from a proposed line of railway. The Association expressed their hope that by the representations which had been

made to the Directors by societies, and the personal efforts of others, deterioration of these interesting monuments might be prevented.

Mr. J. B. Greenshields of Kerse, Lesmahagow, N.B., made a communication from Mr. Robert Ferguson of Carlisle (Dec. 22, 1863), relative to some discoveries recently made in the course of an excavation on the south side of that city, and near to the ancient line of Roman way, towards the south, by Old Carlisle and Penrith. They consist of Roman relics obtained by digging the foundation of a house, and present a large cinerary urn measuring twenty inches in height, of a reddish coloured paste, seen on plate 4, fig. 1; together with portions of broken Samian ware, fragments of other pottery, and remnants of glass vessels. These are shewn, fig. 2; and among them will be observed, upon the bottom of a portion of a vessel of Samian ware, as it is generally called,—a name which seems to read VATICONVM. It has been suggested to read this as VATICONIS IX (*mann*), as being the presumed name of the potter. Such a name has, however, not yet appeared in any of the lists of the Roman potters. It has been engraved with a pointed tool. The place where these objects have been found is conjectured by Mr. Ferguson to have been probably one of the extra-mural cemeteries of *Luguvallium*.

A second "find" was made a little way out of the Old City, in a place to which new streets are now extending; and where Mr. Ferguson thinks it very likely, from the situation, that further discoveries will be made. Plate 5 exhibits the antiquities here found, as seen *in situ*. Fig. 1 represents a cist composed of a block of stone hollowed into the shape of a trough, in which was deposited a large cinerary bottle, or jar, of greenish glass, lying on one of its four sides, with a small vessel and a lamp placed at its mouth. On the top of this jar were lying about a dozen small iron objects which were at first presumed to be images; and conjecture was carried so far as to cause them to be considered as metal representations of Roman Penates. A close examination of them, however, detected their real nature; and the Association had no difficulty in regarding them simply as iron nails in a state of extensive oxydation, with portions of woody fibre attached; from which it is not unreasonable to conclude that some wooden case or covering had at an early time been placed in the stone cist, enclosing the relics described. On the same plate, to the left (fig. 2) is the stone cover which had served to enclose the whole; and near to it another block of stone, hollowed out (fig. 3) to receive in an irregularly formed circular hole a small earthen vase, also for holding incinerated remains. Examination of its contents presented only a deposit of black, greasy earth, which may probably be the remains of an incrimated heart. There was also a stone rudely cut, but with some degree of spirit, into the figure of a lion (fig. 4) devouring a bull or other animal, from the skull







of which it seems to be engaged in lapping its blood. This figure is the same on both sides of the stone, standing upright on its base, and measuring about sixteen inches in length. There was also a fragment of a monumental inscription (fig. 5) containing the letter M,—doubtless the remains of D. M. (*Dīs Manibus*, to the divine Manes; or *Deo Moximo*, to the great god); and the termination RIVS, belonging to some Roman name, as Valerius, Honorius, etc.

Plate 4, fig. 3, represents the large green vessel removed from the stone *ossuarium*. It is of good glass, and in fine preservation. It closely resembles the one found in the greater barrows at Bartlow, in the parish of Ashdon, Essex; on the examination of which a particular and most excellent account will be found, by the late John Gage Rokewode, in the *Archæologia* (xxvi, pp. 300-317, plate xxxii, fig. 1). The incinerated bones are visible through the glass vessel, which measured twelve inches in height and five and a half in breadth. On the bottom is a mark consisting of the letter M surrounded by two circles. Vessels of this description are not common in this part of England; but his Grace the Duke of Northumberland has a specimen found in Northumberland, measuring precisely the same in height, but only three inches in diameter. Fig. 4 on the same plate represents the lamp of a cream-coloured clay, and fig. 5 the little vessel of very dark clay, both of which were found at the mouth of the glass vessel. Another vessel (fig. 6) is of a pale brick-colour, which was found in the smaller cist.

Another exhibition made consisted of the lower portion of a Roman sepulchral monument, presenting the lower part of apparently a female costume, and the feet, beneath which is inscribed—

D M

ANI . LVCILIE . VIX . AN . LV.

It may, however, probably be of Annus Lucilius, who lived fifty-five years. On the body of the slab is the well known leaf-like ornament on Roman monuments and columns. This has been for a long time in the possession of a working man, and before that was lying disregarded in a field. (See fig. 7.)

Mr. Planché, Hon. Sec., communicated the following particulars relating to the discovery of a Stone Coffin in Ash Church next Sandwich:—

“In the fine old church of St. Nicholas, Ash, so well known to antiquaries by the interesting series of brasses and monumental effigies it contains, considerable restorations have recently taken place, and the high chancel, the south wall of which was in a dangerous condition, underwent a thorough repair in 1862-3, when the old pews were removed and open seats substituted for them. The north transept is now being proceeded with, and the organ and gallery which blocked up the large window there, were taken down in the month of December

last, with a view to the removal of the former to a more appropriate situation, the seats for the school-children being at the same time taken up to be replaced by others similar to those in the chancel. During the progress of this work, the Rev. H. S. Mackarness (the present incumbent) discovered a few inches beneath the soil, under the wooden flooring on which the seats had been placed, what appeared to him to be the lid of a stone coffin, and the labourers having carefully removed the earth and *détbris* above and around it, a fine stone coffin of the thirteenth century was speedily brought to light, the lid being sculptured with a cross planted on three steps or *grices*, and therefrom designated by heralds as a cross degreeced or degraded. A cross thus placed on steps is occasionally erroneously called a cross calvary; but that designation does not apply to the steps, but to the form of the cross itself, which has perfectly straight limbs, as it is generally represented in paintings of the Crucifixion. Crosses of all forms are found planted on grices or steps, and are then, as we have stated, called crosses degreeced or degraded. The steps, when three, are said by some imaginative heralds, to represent the three great Christian virtues—'Faith, Hope, and Charity.'

"Being at the time of this discovery on a visit to Mr. Mackarness (my son-in-law), he sent for me, and in our presence the lid which considerably overlapped the coffin, was found partly displaced, was removed, and it became apparent that the coffin had been opened and its contents disturbed at some early period. The skull of an adult person, retaining several of the teeth, was nearly in the centre of the coffin, and the leg and other bones at the head mixed up with large flint boulders and rubbish of every description. Every portion of the skeleton that remained was carefully collected and buried on the spot, and the coffin being cleaned out, was removed into the molland or north chancel adjoining. It measured six feet two inches and a half in length, two feet two inches at the head, and one foot three inches at the other extremity, and is ten inches and a half deep on the outside, and about nine inches inside. An arch of stone is formed at the head, leaving cavities at the angles, and two holes have been made in the bottom for the escape of the gases. The lid six feet ten inches long, by two feet five inches and a quarter at the top, and one foot six inches and a quarter at the bottom is sculptured as I have already described, and resembles one preserved in the Guildhall Museum, London, engraved in vol. viii, p. 88, of our *Journal*, Plate 16, and described by Mr. Burkitt.

"With respect to the person whose remains it covered, much uncertainty exists. Further than that he was most probably an ecclesiastic we cannot venture even a guess. The transept in which the coffin was found was formerly known as the Chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, and was converted into a transept proper by the building of a central

tower in the fifteenth century. At what time the desecration of this coffin took place, whether at the period of such alteration of the building, or at a much later one, cannot now be determined; but it certainly was not visible in 1613, when Peter le Neve made his Church Notes; nor in 1760, when the Rev. Bryan Faussett made his. If not discovered and buried within those periods, we must go back to the fifteenth century for this act of Vandalism. At that period, the Chapel of St. Thomas was the common resting-place of the important family of St. Nicholas, of Ash, and continued to be so to its expiration in that parish towards the close of the seventeenth century.

"The first intimation we have of this fact is the direction of John St. Nicholas in his will, dated 18 June 1462 (2nd Edw. IV), wherein he desires to be buried in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, in the church of St. Nicholas at Ash; but it is quite probable that he was not the first of the family interred there. Archbishop Peckham gave the church at Ash to the College of Wingham in 1286; and it is generally imagined, from the precise similarity of the arms of Peckham to those of St. Nicholas, that they were one and the same family. But whether a branch of the Peckhams took the name of St. Nicholas from their place, called St. Nicholas Court, in the Isle of Thanet, or a St. Nicholas assumed the name of Peckham as early as the thirteenth century, has not yet been discovered. It is not unlikely that either a Peckham or a St. Nicholas was a priest at Ash about the time of the gift of the church to Wingham, which accords with the date I am inclined to assign to this coffin,—the receptacle, no doubt, of the remains of an ecclesiastic. We have no record, however, of that fact; and as far as my present researches have gone, I have not found any St. Nicholas in holy orders. There was a Lawrence de St. Nicholas attorney for Cardinal Gale in the reign of King John; but there is nothing to prove he was a priest, nor could I venture to assert that he was even a member of the Kentish family.

"There is one circumstance I must not omit to mention. Harris, in his *History of Kent*, tells us that the minister of Ash informed him that a stone coffin had been dug up at Goshall (a manor house in that parish, within a mile of the church) about twelve years previous to the date of that conversation; which, as Dr. Harris published the first volume of his *History* in 1719, we may presume took place about the beginning of the eighteenth century. As we only hear of the discovery of the coffin, and no particulars either as to its form, size, ornamentation, or supposed age, or of what became of it, it is just possible it might have been removed to the church, and reburied there amongst the St. Nicholas' who were once the possessors of Goshall by marriage with an heiress of that family, some of whom also lie in the chancel adjoining. In those days the impropriety of burying a stone coffin

would probably not have occurred to them, particularly as they found it in the earth at Goshall. I have no reason for assuming that the coffin found at Goshall was removed to Ash Church; but with Harris's account before me, and no proof that the one just discovered was placed there before 1700,—the flooring above it certainly not being two hundred years old,—I must necessarily pause before I attempt to build a theory upon what may be altogether a wrong foundation.

“The walls of the transept in which the coffin was found, exhibited, on the removal of the organ and gallery, numerous proofs of having been covered with fresco paintings; but, unfortunately, all were too much dilapidated to admit of recognition, or deserve copying. The naked feet of a figure, and the lower portion of a red robe, were visible on the east wall. Under the large window in the north wall, were the remains of writing, probably texts; but not one word clearly decypherable. A border consisting of a black band, with white or yellow roundels and ovals upon it, ran along this side, under the window, and a piece of the old glass found amongst the *debris*, had a similar border upon it, from which probably the one on the wall was imitated. On the west side a scroll border had been painted, I should say, at a later period. In other places black lines had been drawn on the plaster to give the idea of masonry, which were curiously enough continued on the stone abutments themselves.

Mr. F. J. Baigent transmitted the following account of the

DISCOVERY OF A LEADEN COFFIN AT BISHOPSTOKE, HANTS.

“On Saturday afternoon (January 16th) an interesting discovery was made by some labourers whilst procuring gravel for the purpose of repairing the permanent way of the South-Western Railway, on a piece of land adjoining the railway embankment, about a mile from the Bishopstoke Junction. At a distance of between five and six feet below the surface of the land, which had been for many years used for agricultural purposes, they drove their pick into some foreign substance, which, on examination, turned out to be a piece of lead. On clearing away the gravel, a leaden cist was exposed to view, the lower part somewhat injured by the pressure or falling in of the earth, a similar pressure having also begun to take effect on the right side of the coffin. On attempting to remove the lid or covering, the lead weakened by corrosion, gave way, and parted into several pieces, and fragments of the metal as well as some of the earth fell into the coffin. The pieces of the now broken lid being removed, a skeleton was exposed to view, the lower extremities of which were, however, wanting, and may probably have perished in the commencement of the excavation, as it was into the lower end of the cist that the workmen had struck their pickaxes. The sinking of one side of the lid had, however, depressed the right

ribs, and caused a more early decay of that side of the body. The left ribs remained undisturbed. Above the right shoulder were fragments of glass vessels, broken in all probability by the unskillful opening of the coffin. The earth having been cleared away from the sides, the broken cist was removed with some care to a workshop about a quarter of a mile below the station.

"A communication of the circumstances of this discovery having been made to me by the railway officials, I proceeded to Bishopstoke, and on entering the building where it had been deposited began at once to arrange the pieces of the lid, and of the lower part of the coffin, and the broken portions of the sides, so as to enable me to make an exact sketch. There appear to have been three or, perhaps, four bottles, or lachrymatories, of a thin, yellowish, pale-green coloured sparkling glass. Of these bottles one appears to have had straight sides, another was of a form somewhat resembling a soda-water bottle, whilst a third was of a much more globular form, and the glass of the thinnest description. There were no traces of handles, and the only attempt at ornament was a single and double line or ring marked upon the most perfect of the three necks. These rings are simply scratched, and may have been turned upon a lathe. The leaden coffin measured five feet six inches in length inside, and its interior breadth was sixteen inches or sixteen and a half, and the depth at the sides gave nine inches and a half. It was of uniform width throughout, and made out of one piece of lead by the corners being cut out, and the sides and ends turned up and lapped over for about an inch. The lid was made in a similar manner, and was lapped over the top of the coffin to the depth of three inches. The lead was at least a quarter of an inch in thickness, and devoid of ornament. No inscription was discernible, and after a careful search no coins or other relics could be discovered.

"The skeleton was that of a woman; the bones are small and delicate. The skull was much broken, and pieces evidently gone; the teeth were all perfect, regular and beautiful, and indicated a person in the prime of life. The lower jaw-bone was unusually narrow, and had fallen from its place, and rested upon the thorax. The left arm crossed the body below the breast, with the hand bent downwards. The carpus, the metacarpal bones, and the phalanges, were all undisturbed in their articulations, and the same remark will apply to the vertebræ. The left scapula, with the humerus, remained uninjured, whilst the other was partially decayed. The femur of the left leg was lying in its place, resting in the socket of the ilium, though not quite perfect at its lower end. No other portion of the lower extremities remained, nor were there any traces discernible of either the radius or the ulna of the right arm, or of its hand, though it seemed pretty evident that it had not been placed across the body, but was laid parallel by the side of the

coffin. The humerus measured, from the superior surface of the head to the inferior surface of the pully, twelve inches. The ulna, or the longest of the two bones of the fore-arm, was eight inches and a half in length. The left femur, from the surface of the head to the lower part, as mutilated, measured thirteen inches and a half; though, when perfect, its measurement to the inferior surface of the inner condyle, was probably about sixteen inches and a half.

"The remains are, in all probability, those of a noble Roman lady, of a small and delicate frame, snatched away from her friends, at an early age (not more than twenty-five, if so old). The grief of her friends is sufficiently attested by the broken fragments of *lachrymatories* placed within the coffin in accordance with the Roman usage. More than fourteen hundred years have passed away since these remains were consigned to the earth, to be rudely disinterred in the nineteenth century, amid puffing locomotives and other noises attendant upon railway traffic.

"The coffin, when discovered, was nearly due east and west, the head lying to the west. From an inspection of the spot, it is quite evident that there had also been a coffin of wood, in which the leaden one had been enclosed; blackened fragments of decayed wood being abundant below and round the sides of the place where it had been dug out.

"As a large portion of the land still remains undisturbed, though marked out for excavation, it is not unlikely that other relics may be brought to light in the immediate neighbourhood of this interment. In 1809 two leaden coffins, void of ornament, and of a similar construction, were found in a Roman tomb at Southfleet, Kent. Similar coffins have also been found in London¹ and at York, one of which is in the museum of that city, and another in that of my deceased friend, our late Associate, Mr. Bateman, at Yolgrave, Derbyshire; but I am not aware of any previous discovery of a similar character in this county."

The Rev. E. Kell also transmitted a notice of the same, and stated that the Lord of the Manor, R. Chamberlayne, Esq., had claimed and taken possession of these interesting relics.

¹ See *Journal*, vol. ix, p. 163, and plate 27, fig. 2.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THE COINS OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS arranged and described. By JOHN EVANS, F.S.A., F.G.S., Honorary Secretary of the Numismatic Society of London; and engraved by F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. 8vo. J. Russell Smith.

WE welcome the appearance of this volume as supplying a long felt desideratum in the study of the coinage of our own country. The author is well known to have devoted for many years past particular attention to this branch of study, and has produced a book which for the first time has arranged these memorials of the early inhabitants of our island on a systematic and reasonable basis. Many writers, from Camden down to the present times, have discussed the subject of the ancient British coinage in a manner more or less fragmentary. Camden and other early writers were destitute of the advantage possessed by students of our own day, in the numerous records of the places where British coins have been discovered. In some instances, however, and notably in that of Camden himself, principles of appropriation were laid down, which experience has proved to be accurate; while in other cases, writers even of learning and research have so hampered themselves by preconceived notions and theories, as to deprive their conclusions of all value, and well nigh to cast ridicule upon the whole subject.

After a brief recapitulation of the different writers who have treated of the ancient British coinage, Mr. Evans discusses the question of the date and origin of the coins. He shows the grounds for concluding (as we believe is now generally admitted) that the passage in *Cæsar* which used to be held as proof that no coinage, in the proper sense of the term, existed in Britain at the time of his invasion, has been misunderstood, and that the interpretation put upon it is at variance with the general current of ancient authority. He assigns the earliest British coins to a date approximatively from two hundred to one hundred and fifty years before the Christian era; those earliest examples being such as are evidently copied from the still earlier Gaulish imitations of the gold *stater* of Philip II of Macedon. On this theory, the difficulty arising from the greater weight of these uninscribed coins, as compared with those of more certain attribution, and which, *primâ facie*, would have led us to consider them as Gaulish rather than British, in a great measure disappears; and this view is strengthened

by the fact that the recorded discoveries of coins of the type in question have rarely taken place elsewhere than in England.

The principle adopted by Mr. Evans in his description, is that of a division of the coins into two classes: the uninscribed and the inscribed. In some cases this arrangement separates coins of types closely allied to each other, as for example No. 11 of Plate b, from No. 13 of Plate xiii, and No. 14 of Plate c, from No. 13 of Plate v. But, on the whole, it is perhaps the most convenient system for his purpose.

After chapters devoted to the uninscribed coins in gold, silver, copper, and brass, to tin coins, and those of mixed metal of the peculiar type called the Channel Island type, Mr. Evans proceeds to the consideration of the coins which, from the inscriptions they bear, are either of certain attribution, or the origin of which may be conjectured with more or less probability. The variety of these pieces is great, and our space forbids our entering upon any detailed examination of them, which indeed would be hardly intelligible without the aid of the illustrative plates. To this class belong the numerous types in the three metals which bear the well known name of Cunobeline; and those with the much vexed inscription, TASCIOVANI, TASCIO, TASCIA, etc., which is now generally admitted to be, as first suggested by Dr. Birch, the name of a prince, the father of Cunobeline. There are other coins bearing the names of reguli or chieftains, of whom little is known but what is supplied by their coins. Many of these are executed with spirit and delicacy. They are, in several instances, imitated from Roman coins of the period of Augustus, or even of a somewhat earlier date, as for example, the coins reading COM. F and VIR REX (Plate i, Nos. 13 and 14, and Plate ii, No. 10), the resemblance of which to the denarii of the Roman consular family Crepusia, is too close to be a mere coincidence. In these pieces there is a good deal of life and motion in the horse and his rider; and it is pleasing to contemplate in these monuments of a remote age, the first dawning of British art; or at least, if, as is most probable, the coins were the work of foreign artists, the first evidences of British appreciation and employment of art where it was to be found.

By a careful induction from the recorded discoveries either of hoards of coins, or of individual specimens, Mr. Evans has arrived at a geographical classification of the various types. As far as our own experience goes, which however is vastly inferior to his, it fully bears out his arrangement; and we have entire confidence that it will be amply confirmed by further discoveries. The operation of our absurd law on the subject of treasure trove, and the unjust claims which are in consequence made to objects assumed to be, but which really are not, treasure trove, oppose immense difficulties to the preservation of coins and other objects of antiquity, and to the accurate record of the places of their

discovery, especially in instances where the find is large, and of much intrinsic or extrinsic value.

On the whole, Mr. Evans's book is by far the most valuable contribution to numismatic science which has appeared in this country for many years. It is a work on an intricate and difficult subject, performed by the man of all others best qualified to undertake it. The plates and woodcuts, beautifully executed by Mr. Fairholt, himself well known as a good antiquary, give most faithful representations of nearly four hundred of the coins described and illustrated in the text.

SALISBURY AND SOUTH WILTS MUSEUM.—It was with much regret, that the Treasurer of the British Archaeological Association was, from illness, unable to respond to the invitation of our Salisbury friends, whose kindly reception of us at the Congress of 1858, is warmly impressed upon our recollection, to be present on occasion of the opening of this museum, the ceremonial of which took place on the 27th of January last, under the presidency of the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Salisbury. The formation of a museum in such a locality, and pertaining to a county so rich in antiquarian objects of the greatest interest, must be patent to all, and it will give pleasure to learn that by private liberality and benevolence, a fit and proper "local habitation and a name" has been provided for it at Salisbury. The nucleus of the museum consists of objects exhibited to us at our Congress, the results of discoveries made during the excavations for the drainage of the city, under the watchful care of Mr. Brodie. At a sale of these antiquities, some of which have been engraved in our *Journal*, a subscription was entered into for their purchase, and with the view of establishing a Local Museum. A room at the Market House had been voted for their temporary deposit, and with other articles subsequently acquired, the collection was thrown open to the public on the 13th of June, 1861. The exhibition of these relics proved so interesting, and were found to be so illustrative of the history of Salisbury and its neighbourhood, that various presents were made to enrich the collection, and at so rapid a rate were these contributed, that it soon extended beyond the means of accommodation obtained for its exhibition. It was therefore determined to purchase a building where the museum could be appropriately deposited, and under the fostering protection and support of several individuals, particularly of the late Dr. Fowler, who, at a very advanced age, acted as one of the Vice-Presidents of our Congress, and gave us the benefit of his knowledge and varied attainments, determined to purchase a range of buildings in St. Ann Street, which was conveyed to Trustees for the express and exclusive use of the Museum. The whole has undergone the necessary alterations, gas introduced to illuminate the rooms, and cases obtained in which the several objects of what is justly entitled to be considered



an important collection are arranged and deposited. To render the collection useful, a Descriptive Catalogue has been prepared and published by the Committee, which brings the whole into view in an entire form. This catalogue is also illustrated, the necessity of which our readers know full well how to appreciate, and by which the descriptive matter is rendered intelligible to all. The geological collection and the assemblage of the fossils of the district, are deserving of notice, and the remains of extinct animals formerly the inhabitants of this locality peculiarly interesting. Dr. Blackmore has done justice to this department, and no less praise is due to Mr. E. J. Stevens for the attention he has paid to the classification of the flint, stone, bronze, and early iron implements. Objects to aid in their illustration obtained from uncivilised nations are placed around the walls, accompanied also with examples of the skulls of different tribes, shewing due regard to ethnological science. The mediæval collection is principally derived from discoveries made at Salisbury, and the early arrow-heads, pilgrims' signs, etc., are well worthy of attention. The ancient pottery is not extensive, but there are some good specimens of various kinds; whilst of the mediæval period it is peculiarly rich and specially interesting. Mr. Osmond, junior, and Mr. Nightingale, have attended to the arrangement of the seals, and Mr. Henry Blackmore to the collection of British birds. There is a pair of bustards of magnificent appearance. To crown the whole, the Rev. C. L. Tomlinson has arranged the minerals in a very praiseworthy manner.

A public meeting was held at the Council House, at which the Mayor, John Waters, Esq., presided, and many distinguished individuals united with the Corporation to celebrate the inauguration. The Lord Bishop of Salisbury responded on the part of the Directors of the Museum to the remarks made by the Mayor, and pointed out in eloquent terms the advantages arising from such an establishment, and congratulated the members upon the municipal guardianship to which it was to be subjected, and under whose care it was secured from spoliation or decay. Lieut.-general Buckley, M.P., detailed the liberal exertions made towards the establishment of the Museum, and moved "That this Meeting is desirous of expressing the deep sense they entertain of the kindness and liberality of the late Dr. Fowler in purchasing and appropriating to the use of the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum the very handsome building now about to be opened to the public; they wish, also, to present to Mrs. Fowler their most cordial and grateful acknowledgment of the generous manner in which she has shared in her late husband's munificent gift, and of the very valuable aid she has since contributed towards the enlargement of the Museum." This was seconded by Mr. Lambert, whose paper on the *Sarum Tonale*, has appeared in our *Journal*,¹ and was unanimously

¹ Vol. xv, pp. 302-305.

adopted. In the purchase and adaptation of the buildings, Mr. Lambert stated that Dr. Fowler had expended nearly £700. He died at the advanced age of ninety-seven, being at that time the Senior Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries, and in the possession of a wonderful memory, and most highly distinguished scientific attainments. The High-Sheriff, Mr. Marsh, M.P., and others addressed the meeting; several subscriptions were announced to discharge the expenses incurred by the fittings, and a procession was then formed to proceed to the opening of the Museum, which was formally handed over by the Bishop to the Mayor and Corporation. In the evening a *conversazione* was held at the Assembly Rooms, the Bishop of Salisbury presiding, where a loan collection had been gathered together, containing many articles of interest. At this meeting Lord Osborne made some excellent remarks "on the Value of Museums," and papers were read by the Hon. and Venerable Archdeacon Harris "on the Ancient Lake Settlements of Switzerland;" "on the Names of Places in the Neighbourhood of Salisbury," by the Rev. W. H. Jones; "on Obsolete Punishments," by Mr. E. T. Stevens; "on the Wiltshire Dykes," by the Rev. Mr. Jones; and on the "Sarum Hymnal of 1525," by Mr. Lambert. The proceedings terminated with the performance of the National Anthem. Our good wishes attend this useful proceeding on the part of the Wiltshire Antiquaries.

TESSERÆ CONSULARES.—Our learned associate, the Rev. John McCaul, LL.D., President of University College, Toronto, and of the Canadian Institute, has lately given in the journal published by the Canadian Institute¹ an interesting paper on those relics of antiquity known under the designation of *tesserae consulares*. They consist of small oblong pieces of ivory or bone presenting four faces, on each of which there is an inscription, rendering it a matter of some difficulty to ascertain the beginning of the reading. One example, given by Marini,² has six faces, and reads—

PINITVS
ALLEI
SP. K. FEB.
TI. CL. CAES. II
C. CAEC
COS.

Dr. McCaul has recorded several examples, and has given the readings in a very satisfactory manner. He has also shewn the mode in which we should proceed in deciphering these interesting subjects. Thus we find generally a name in the nominative, which he says is *always* of a man; then in the genitive, generally of a man. These are followed by the letters s. p., with the day of the month and the names

¹ Toronto, Nov. 1863, pp. 427-426.

² *Atti*, p. 822.

of the consuls, whereby the year is indicated or can be ascertained. In some cases the month only is inscribed, and the day omitted; and there are instances in which the names are both written in the nominative. We give as examples rendered by Dr. McCaul the following:

DIOCLES
LONGIDI
SP. K. SEP.
CN. OCT. C. CVR.

"Diocles Longidii (servus) Sp. kalendis septembribus, Cneio Octavio Caio Curione." Diocles of Longidius (the slave), the 1st of September in the consulship of Cneius Octavius and Caius (Scribonius) Curio, *i.e.* A.U.C. 678, or B.C. 76.

PAMPHILVS
SERVILI. M. S.
SPE. K. FEB.
C. CAES. M. LEP.

"Pamphilus Servilii Marci servus, Spe. kalendis Februariis Caio Cæsare Marco Lepido." Pamphilus, of Marcus Servilius the slave, the 1st of February in the consulship of Caius (Julius) Cæsar and Marcus (Æmilius) Lepidus, *i.e.*, A.U.C. 708, or B.C. 46. In this instance, it will be seen, the designation of slave is inscribed. Of freemen the two subjoined are examples:

FLORONIVS
ROMANVS
SP. K. DEC.
L. CAN. Q. FABR. COS.

"Floronius Romanus Sp. kalendis Decembribus Lucio Caninio Quinto Fabricio Consulibus." Florianus Romanus, the 1st of December in the consulship of Lucius Caninius and Quintus Fabricius, *i.e.*, A.U.C. 752, or B.C. 2.

C. NUMITORIVS
NORBANVS
SP. III. K. FEB.
A. LIC. Q. CRET. COS.

"Caius Numatorius Norbanus, Sp. tertio kalendas Februarias, Aulo Licinio Quinto Cretico Consulibus." Caius Numitorius Norbanus, the 30th of January in the consulship of Aulus Licinius (Nerva Silanus) and Quintus (Cæcilius Metellus) Creticus, *i.e.*, A.U.C. 760 or A.D. 7.

The authorities for these inscriptions are principally to be found in Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1863); *Cardinali Diplomi Imperiali Velletri* (1838), and *Morelli delle Tessere degli spettacoli Rom.* (Milan, 1827). Sixty-two of these objects are admitted to be genuine; but of these, five only bear the names of freemen. Of the known examples, twenty-eight are regarded as "suspected or false"; and of these, four or five are in the British Museum. Borghesi says that counterfeits were not known before the commencement of the eighteenth century. The letters sp. upon them have occasioned some difficulty

and a contrariety of opinion in regard to their signification; but the epigraphists from the sixteenth century have generally adopted the reading as *SPECTATVS*, and they are conceived to have reference to gladiators; and the objects themselves have, by Maffei, Fabretti, Orsato, Marini, and others, been occasionally named *tessera gladiatorie*. This would seem to lead us to a knowledge of their purpose, namely as presents to the gladiators as "tried" or "approved," and therefore allowed to retire on the specified day of the month in the year indicated by the specified consuls. To support this interpretation, the well-known verses,

"Spectatum satis, et donatum jam rude quæris,
Mæcenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo."

have been cited. An examination of the subject, and the various opinions expressed in relation to their use, led Dr. McCaul to think the *tessera* were in some way connected with money, and that the word *SPECTATOR* might be taken in the sense of "examiner of money." He brings many authorities derived from passages in ancient writers, to support this view, which are well worthy of attention. His opinion is well expressed in the following passage:

"It seems not improbable that these *tessera* were carried, or it may be, hung round the neck, by those who acted as *spectatores*, as badges indicative of their occupation; and that the inscription shewed that they were authorised to act as such, having been approved on the stated days or in the stated months. Thus the frequency of the occurrence of the kalends, the nones, and ides, seems to be satisfactorily accounted for; for these were, as is well known, the settling days, the principal times for money transactions."

WEYHILL CHURCH.—An Associate communicates the intelligence that Weyhill Church, a building assigned to the transition period from the Normans to the early English style of architecture (1175-1200), has been renovated in a creditable manner, but regrets that sufficient attention has not been paid to the preservation of the memorials of the dead, which are very commonly carried away by the contractors, or broken up on the spot for the sake of the materials, or, as it sometimes happens, employed to form a paved pathway or entrance to the church.

At Weyhill, the rector has been incapacitated by illness from taking any active part in the restoration, and is probably unaware that the system complained of has been carried out to some extent in his own church. Several monumental slabs have been removed from the church during the recent alterations: six or eight of these large slabs (in the finest state of preservation) are laid down to form a part of the pavement of the church-yard. One of these commemorated:—The Reverend Thomas Mason, S.T.P. benefactor and rector of the church, who died in 1649. Another one—Ranulf Sanderson, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, Prebendary of Salisbury, rector of the church for

thirty years and a benefactor, who died in 1679. Another—the Reverend and learned Joseph Todhunter, M.A., sometime Fellow of Queen's College, and rector of Weyhill, who died in 1732. Elizabeth, the wife of the Rev. John Lockton, who died in 1781. Edward Noyes, gentleman, who died in 1716. William Noyes, gentleman, 1725, etc.

A. HENRY RHIND, Esq.—We rejoice to learn that the late Mr. Rhind, of Sibster, whose early death antiquaries, and especially those engaged in Egyptian researches, must deplore, has evinced his great zeal in the pursuit of archaeology, by bequeathing to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland:—1. His valuable library, consisting principally of works of a historical and archaeological character, numbering about fifteen hundred volumes. 2. A sum of £400 for the purpose of carrying out the systematic excavations of early remains in the North-Eastern Counties of Scotland, principally of Caithness, Ross, and Sutherland. 3. A reversionary interest in the estate of Sibster, which it is supposed may ultimately be worth £7000, for the purpose of endowing a chair of archaeology in connexion with the Society, and under the charge of the Council. 4. The copyright of his work entitled “Thebes: its Tombs and their Tenants.” Beside bequests to his relatives, Mr. Rhind has also left £7000 for the foundation of an institution at Wick, intended to promote the industrial training of young women in the shire of Caithness, and £5000 for the endowment of two fellowships in the University of Edinburgh. At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, held Nov. 30th, 1863, Mr. John Stuart, a no less zealous and able antiquary, gave a sketch of Mr. Rhind's career, and paid a deserved tribute to his munificence towards the Society. A portrait of their benefactor is to be placed in the Society's Museum, to which, during his life, he had made many valuable donations.

SCULPTURED STONES.—The labours of the Spalding Club and their generous contributions to archaeology have been already alluded to in the pages of our *Journal*, and we are happy to announce, that the Society is about to add a further valuable gift to antiquaries, by a second volume of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*. It is stated, that Mr. Thomson, of Banchory, had last year taken with him photographs of the inscription on the Newton stone to Italy and Germany, there submitting them to various learned men who, however, failed to give any satisfactory solution of their meaning. The most probable opinion appears to have been that given by Dr. Davis, of Florence, who regarded them as Phœnician, and this is in correspondence with that given by the late Dr. Mill, of Cambridge.

LANARKSHIRE ANTIQUITIES.—The attention of our Associates has frequently been called to the antiquities of the upper ward of Lanarkshire, and the contributions of Mr. G. V. Irving, Mr. Sim, and Mr. Murray

together with various illustrations, are duly recorded in the pages of this *Journal*. An entire work on the subject has been long in preparation, the archaeological and historical section being written by Mr. Irving, the statistical and topographical by Mr. Murray. It will be profusely illustrated by maps, views, portraits, etc., and form three elegant volumes in 4to and 8vo, to be published at Glasgow. The 4to copies are large paper, of which a few only have been printed at the price of five guineas, the 8vo, three guineas. Subscribers can send their names to T. Murray and Son, Glasgow; Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh; and J. Russell Smith, Soho Square, London.

BRIXWORTH CHURCH.—This church rendered familiar to our Associates by their visit to it at the Congress of 1862, and by Mr. Roberts' paper in the last number of the *Journal*, is now undergoing repair and restoration, of which, and the necessity of obtaining subscriptions to aid in the work, we have been requested to make known to our members. The Rev. Mr. Watkins is also contemplating a work on this church and basilican edifices in general, to which the attention of our readers is also directed.

HENRY THE FIFTH.—Mr. Saxe Bannister, who drew the attention of the Association to some unpublished MS. Lives of this Sovereign, is about to publish a work in four volumes, 8vo, entitled "Henry the Fifth in Boyhood; as Prince of Wales; as King of England; Lord of Ireland; and Heir of France." It will be printed uniformly with the "Treasury Historical Series", and at the same price, namely, ten shillings per volume to subscribers; non-subscribers, fifteen shillings. Subscribers to this important publication should send their names to the Editor, 24, Museum Street, Bloomsbury.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT BATH.—Our Associate, the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, whose researches in this department of archaeology are well known to our members, and whose various contributions on the subject have appeared in several numbers of our *Journal*, proposes to publish a work under the title of "AQUE SOLIS, Notices of Roman Bath." It is intended to embrace a description of all the Roman remains which have been found in and around the city up to the present time, with illustrations of the vestiges of temples and other structures; also of altars, inscriptions, tombs, weapons, and implements, personal ornaments and other remains, and a map of the city as it existed at the Roman period. It will be in 4to, similar to Mr. C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, and copiously illustrated. Subscribers should transmit their names to R. E. Peach, Bridge Street, Bath. To subscribers, the price is one guinea; to non-subscribers, £1:5.

WENTWOOD, CASTLE TROGY AND LLANVAIR CASTLE.—Our most



spected associate, Thomas Wakeman, Esq., ever active in the pursuit of archæology, and ever accurate in his researches, has been engaged with Octavius Morgan, Esq., M.P., in the publication of *Notes on Wentwood and two of the Castles of the District*, specially brought under the notice of the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association. Conjecture and speculation in regard to the appellation of Gwent, among learned Welshmen, has been abundant. Mr. Wakeman suggests that the earliest settlers in this part of the country were a tribe of Celtic Wends, who gave their name to the land which they occupied, and which it has retained to the present time. To this opinion Mr. Morgan is disposed to give his assent, and he has endeavoured to shew that there were such a people as the Wends in Europe, and that some of them were of Celtic origin; that they settled on the most westerly part of the continent of Europe, over against Britain, with which they had great intercourse; that the earliest traditions and belief have always been that Wales was peopled by a migration of tribes from Armorica, and that the early historical chronicles tend to corroborate such tradition. A Survey of Wentwood, A.D. 1271, is given, and has been carefully collated from four different copies; and also a Survey (55th Henry III) from the Latin version in the possession of Lord Tredegar. On the value of such documents no observation is necessary. The contribution is of importance in Welsh history, and we trust that the health of our associate may long enable him to pursue such useful inquiries.

THE SUFFOLK CONGRESS OF THE ASSOCIATION is to be held at IPSWICH, commencing Monday Aug. 15, and terminating on the 20th. *Patrons*—The Earl of Stradbroke, Lord Lieutenant of the county; and the Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Norwich, D.D., Bishop of the diocese. *President*—G. Tomline, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., of Orwell Park, Ipswich. *Hon. Local Secretaries*—B. M. Phipson, Esq., architect; and J. Had-dock, Esq. Among those who have consented to act as *Vice-Presidents* on this occasion may be named—The Marquis of Bristol; the Earl Jermyn, M.P.; Rev. Lord Arthur Hervey, President of the Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute; Lord Alfred Hervey, M.P.; Lord Rendlesham; Rear-Admiral Sir G. N. Broke Middleton, Bart., High Sheriff for Suffolk; Charles Austin, Esq., High Steward of the Borough of Ipswich; H. E. Adair, Esq., M.P.; J. C. Cobbold, Esq., M.P.; Thos. Sutton Western, Esq., M.P., President of the Essex Archæological Society; Windsor Parker, Esq., M.P.; J. T. Miller, Esq., M.P.; J. A. Harcastle, Esq., M.P.; the Mayors of Ipswich, Bury St. Edmunds, Colchester, and Beccles, etc. Exhibitions intended to be made, and papers to be read, during the Congress, are requested to be made known to the Treasurer and Secretaries of the Association as soon as convenient, that they may be properly inserted in the programme now in course of preparation.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JUNE 1864.

ON THE WEAPONS OF THE ANCIENT TRIBES OF YORKSHIRE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

AT what is popularly known as the dawn of history, the hills and glens and rich pastures now constituting Yorkshire, together with the counties of Lancashire, Durham, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, were peopled by the powerful nation of the Brigantes. But long ere the Brigantes began to play their part in British history, these several lands were held by two distinct races of savages, whose names are, perhaps, irretrievably lost, but whose social condition and physical characters may be clearly discerned by those who inspect the records of the tombs. The earliest of these two most ancient races had long narrow crania, described by ethnologists as *Kumbe-cephalic*, whilst the second or succeeding people belonged to the *Brachy-cephalic* type, whose heads were longitudinally short with bulging sides.¹ However much these two nameless nations differed from each other in cranial conformation, they yet resembled each other in the employment of wood, horn, bone, and stone, in the manufacture of implements and arms, and it is to these latter in particular that I would now invite attention, as offering some

¹ These two types of crania are delineated in the late Mr. Bateman's "Remarks on Barrows opened in the more Hilly Districts near Bakewell." (See *Journal*, vol. vii, pp. 210-220.)

of the earliest evidence which man has left us of his presence in Yorkshire. The weapons of the pre-historic ages consisted of clubs and maces, single and double axes, and axe-hammers, slings, bows and arrows, spears and darts, daggers and sword-clubs. The wooden portions of these arms have perished, but their bone and stone heads and blades remain as faithful witnesses of the rude art of the earlier and of the expert manipulation of the later races of the *Stone Period*. The great majority of the weapons of this remote epoch were fabricated of silex, being either flint or hornstone. The most archaic examples seem to have been wrought with a few blows given with a stone, producing broad conchoidal fractures over the whole surface of the object, little attempt being made at obtaining symmetry of outline. The later implements, on the other hand, were fashioned by repeated strokes, so that the whole surface and edges present numerous fine undulations, the outline being frequently most carefully preserved. The flint blades found in such profusion at Bridlington, in the East Riding, may be cited as well marked types of the earlier,¹ and those discovered in some of the Scarborough barrows as examples of the later class of such relics.

The clubs of the Britannie savages were not solely of wood, but occasionally of stone, like the *meri* of New Zealand, as may be seen by a reference to our *Journal*.² But the mace would seem to have been in more extensive use than the stone club, at least if we are right in regarding the spheres of trap, chert, etc., as mace-heads, employed in like mode as the "slung-shot" of the red men of America, *i.e.*, tied up in leather and swung at the end of a stout wooden haft. Examples of presumed mace-heads have been found in various Yorkshire barrows, as, for instance, near Pickering, and at Daulby in the North Riding.³ Heavy stones, both naturally and artificially perforated, have also been met with in Yorkshire barrows and elsewhere, which were, no doubt, suspended by thongs from strong poles, and wielded like the military flails and morning-stars of the middle ages. One, measuring four inches in diameter, was found on Daulby Warren in 1852,

¹ See *Journal*, xviii, 377.

² *Ib.*, xv, 231.

³ Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, pp. 213, 224, 236.

and is now in the Bateman Collection at Lomberdale House.¹

Closely allied in aspect to the mace-head, but of smaller size, is the sling-bullet of flint, chert, sandstone, etc., of which so many examples have come to light. One, one inch and a quarter in diameter, of flint, is shewn in the cut on p. 104, discovered by the late Lord Londesborough in a tumulus on Seamer Moor, near Scarborough, in 1848, the opening of which has been described in the *Journal* (iv, 101). It is just possible that some of the spheres which have been considered as sling-bullets may have served as lasso weights, and used, like the Patagonian *throwing balls*, in the chase.

The axes of the Stone Period are of two distinct types, the one decreasing from the convex edge to the butt, which was driven through a perforation in the sides of the haft, the other drilled perpendicularly, so that the haft passed up its middle. Four examples of the first named kind are delineated in plate vi, and were found by the late Lord Londesborough in one of the Seamer Moor barrows. They are of flint, measuring from three inches and five-eighths to four inches and three-fourths in length, the three largest being very well wrought with keen edges and even sides, attesting the skill and patience of the ancient denizens of Yorkshire. The majority of axe-blades found in this county, which have come under my notice, have been fabricated of either flint or chert, but Mr. Bateman, in his *Ten Years' Diggings* (p. 221), mentions a beautiful one of green basalt, three inches and a half long, being exhumed from a barrow a few miles from Pickering in 1851.

The heavy cutting weapons with perforations for the reception of the haft may be divided into two groups, namely, axe-hammers and double axes, the first having a moderately sharp edge in front, and a blunt, rounded, or flattened butt, like the specimen engraved in the *Journal* (xvi, 295, fig. 8); the second being fashioned like the classic *bipennis*. Both varieties are generally wrought of grauwache or trap-rock. "A very elegant axe-head five inches long, of reddish basalt, beautifully wrought, with a slight moulding round the angles, and a perforation for

¹ Ib., 231.

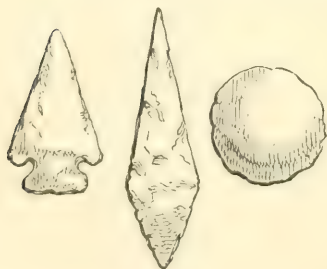
the shaft," was found in 1850 in one of the numerous barrows which spread for miles around Pickering, and specimens formed of the same material have been met with in other grave-hills in the North Riding.¹

Of the second group, or double axes, there is a fine example given in plate 7, fig. 1, from the Huxtable Collection.² It measures six inches in length, and closely resembles specimens found in Denmark. It must be assigned to the close of the Stone Period, when arms of stone had reached their highest perfection and were about to be superseded by those of bronze.

Some of the most ponderous of the stone mauls which have from time to time been brought to light were, in all probability, wielded by the warrior as well as the artizan, for we know that heavy hammers were used in deadly strife even as late as the sixteenth century.

The principal projectile weapon of the Stone Period was the arrow, the flint blades pertaining to which are met with, not only in the barrows, but scattered widely over the broad lands of Yorkshire. Some of these blades are of the rudest fabric, like those found at Bridlington, and in the barrow near Egton in the North Riding, figured in plate 6, which were accompanied by a lance-head, jet necklace, etc. (fig. 2.)

In strong contrast with the above are the beautiful examples delineated in the subjoined woodcut; one of which, of lozenge shape, is two inches and three-quarters high; the other measures one inch and three-quarters, and has a notch on each side the base to receive the cord employed in binding it on the split end of the reed shaft. Both blades



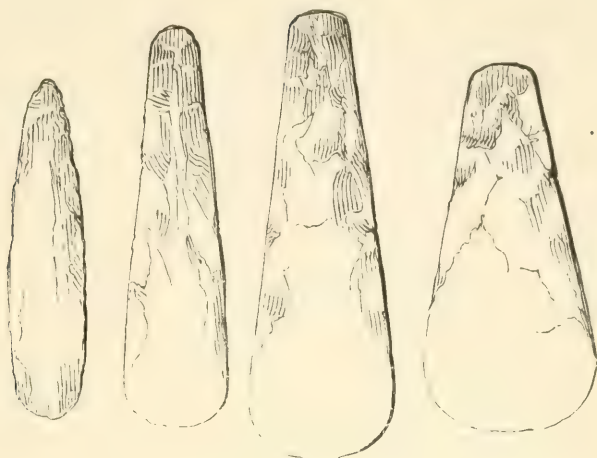
were discovered, with the sling bullet before mentioned, in the barrow on Seamer Moor, explored by Lord Londesborough in 1848.

The main difference between the rude arrow blade and

¹ *Ib.*, 227, 231, 237.

² It is much to be regretted that the precise localities of the Huxtable specimens from Yorkshire are unrecorded.

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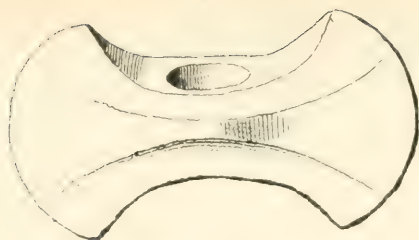


ANTIQUITIES FROM SCARBOROUGH.

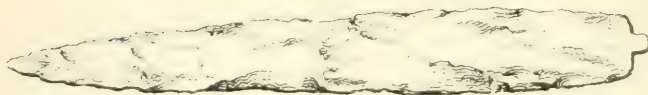




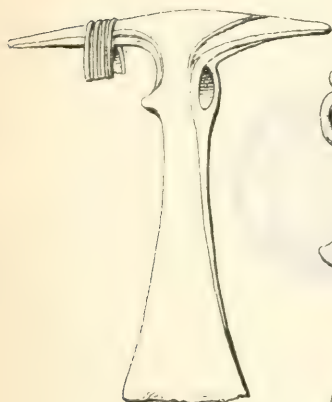
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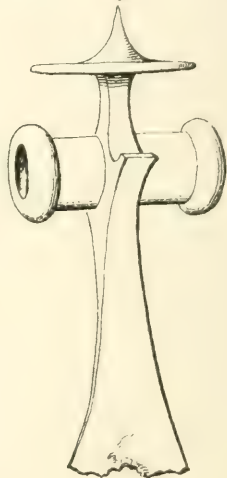
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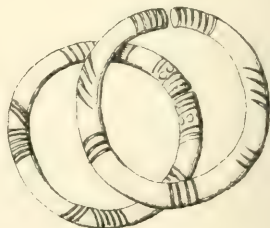
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Illustrations by F. W. H. Smith, F.R.S.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.

rude dart and spear blades, is in regard to their size, for they are all spawls, struck from a core or spud of silex. One, from Egton, is shown in the centre of the jet neck-lace on plate 6, fig. 2, but it must not be imagined that the primitive inhabitants of Yorkshire were unable to produce better spears than this almost inartificial blade, for at the close of the Stone Period the ancient flint chipper manifested great perfection in his art.

Among the rarer weapons yielded by the Yorkshire barrows must be placed the flint daggers, of which examples have been found near Pickering,¹ and one, nine inches in length, exhibited in the Huxtable Collection, plate 7, fig. 2. Similar war-relics have been met with in Derbyshire² and in Ireland; and a magnificent leaf-shaped sword-blade of flint, about sixteen inches long and three inches broad at its widest part, may be seen among the Mexican antiquities in the British Museum.

At the commencement of this paper I have made mention of sword clubs, a title, probably, new to many of our readers, but which I propose to be accepted as the designation of a weapon which I believe was as common to the Britannic savages as to the ancient dwellers in the vale of Anahuac. The Mexican *miquahuilt* was a stout staff, deeply channeled on its two opposite sides, and set with roundish blades of obsidian. Now, in many parts of Yorkshire and in other counties, numerous roundish flint blades have been turned up, which are exactly suited for insertion in the grooved edge of a wooden staff, and, I doubt not, are really the remains of powerful sword clubs resembling the *miquahuilt*, with which Acosta declared he had seen the skull of a horse cleft in twain by a single blow.

Hitherto I have not made any allusion to the presence of *metal* in the Yorkshire barrows of the *Stone Period*, but it will be necessary to point to a few instances of its occurrence. In the Ravenhill tumulus was found an urn containing calcined bones, arrow, knife and axe blades of flint, and a beautiful bronze pin, one inch and a half long.³ With the skeleton and oaken coffin exhumed at Gris-thorpe were some flint implements and a rude dagger-blade of bronze.⁴ A bronze dagger-blade and flint spear-

¹ Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, 224, 228.

² *Ib.*, 52, 167.

³ See *Journal*, vi, 3.

⁴ *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1834, p. 632.

head lay by the side of the skeleton in a barrow near Cawthorn Camps, opened in 1849.¹ A fine bronze dagger-blade was found with a flint implement placed by the side of a skeleton in a barrow some miles from Pickering in 1851,² and in the same year a bronze dagger and stone hammer were found in a barrow at Scambridge.³ Now the presence of this brazen pin and the brazen daggers must not be received as evidence of a knowledge of the working in metal by the archaic races of the *Stone Period* any more than the presence of iron adze blades among the tribes of Oceania are evidence of a knowledge of metallurgy on their part.⁴ In both instances the possession of metallic implements are due to intercourse and barter with a people of high attainments, well practised in mining and chemical operations, and in working and casting ores. I see no valid reason for doubting that the gifted people who introduced civilisation to the *Britannic Islands* were the *Celtæ*, and that the brazen arms and implements, golden trinkets, wrought gems and vitreous beads and baubles found here and in Ireland, are the monuments of their skill, taste, and refinement.

With the advent of bronze in Britain a new form of crania appeared—crania totally differing from the old *Kumbe-cephalic* and *Brachy-cephalic* types, and bearing a close similitude to the majority of English heads, being of symmetrical oval contour and manifesting a far superior intellectual faculty to that observed in the skulls of the savages of the *Stone Period*.

Of the defensive arms of the *Celtæ* few relics are left beside the round target and upright shield (*tarian* and *ysgwyd*), but of their weapons of offence there are no lack of examples, and we shall find that Yorkshire has produced some highly curious and instructive types.

Of the brazen arrow piles I do not remember seeing an example from this county, but we have abundant proof that

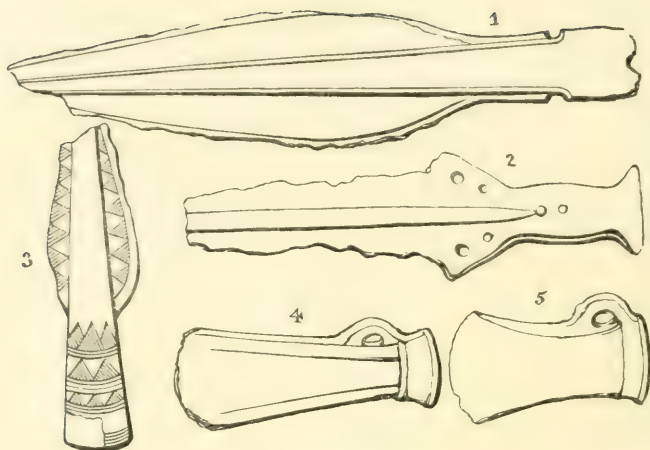
¹ *Ten Years' Diggings*, 206.

² *Ib.*, 226.

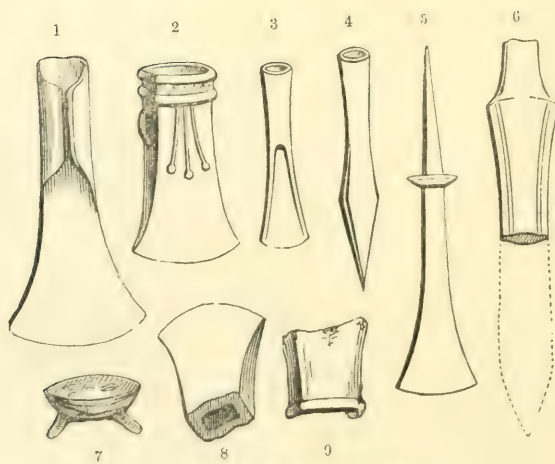
³ *Ib.*, 231.

⁴ Plane-irons were formerly in great request in the Sandwich Islands, the people mounting them as adze-blades in the manner of their primitive blades of shell and stone. The English, in some instances, supplied the South Sea islanders with iron arms made in imitation of the native weapons. Capt. Cook received his death-wound from an iron dagger, copied from one of wood, which he had presented to a chief. And some years since I saw at Evans's, in Holborn, an iron *meri*, an exact likeness of those of basalt employed by the New Zealanders.





ANTIQUITIES FROM BILTON.



ANTIQUITIES FROM WESTOW.

the Brigantes were well provided with other projectiles in the shape of darts and javelins, and also with powerful spears and lances wherewith to make the deadly thrust. In plate 7, fig. 7, is delineated a dart or lance-head, four inches in length, derived from the Huxtable collection. It is leaf-shaped, the conical socket extending far up the centre of the blade, and having its lower portion perforated with two holes to admit the peg or rivet which passed from side to side, thus securing it to the wooden shaft. In our *Journal* (v, 349) will be found an account of the discovery of brazen weapons in a field near Bilton, in the East Riding, among which were seven spear-heads, two of them being shown in the upper group in plate 8, figs. 1 and 2. The first, when entire, must have been of very elegant shape, and judging from the portion that remains, must have measured full sixteen inches in length when perfect. The second spear (fig. 3) offers an interesting instance of a brazen weapon decorated with incised lines. Weapons thus decorated are not uncommon in Ireland, but are of great rarity in this country, and it will be perceived that the vandykes on the present specimen are precisely similar to those found on the *lunulæ* and other golden trinkets of the Hiberno-Celts. Ere this beautiful spear-head lost its point it must have measured upwards of eight inches in length.

With the seven spear-heads found near Bilton were also six examples of the so-called socket celts, which I have on various occasions endeavoured to show were the metallic butts of spear-shafts, analogous to those of iron seen on African lances.¹ Two of these Bilton butts or ferrules are given in plate 8, figs. 4 and 5. Specimens discovered with a variety of other brazen implements at Westow, in the North Riding, are exhibited in the lower group of the same plate (figs. 2, 8, 9), and a sixth, from the Huxtable Collection, is engraved on plate 7, fig. 5. The last specimen, as well as that from Westow, bears a trident device on either face, and this same device has been found to occur on examples obtained from Norfolk,² Lancashire,³ Hull,⁴ and Tadcaster, the latter being the famous celt with a large ring through its side loop or ear, now deposited in the British Museum.⁵

¹ See *Journal*, ix, 185; xv, 235.

⁴ *Ib.*, ix, 185.

² *Ib.*, i, 59.

³ *Ib.*, viii, 332.

⁵ *Archæologia*, xvi, pl. 54.

Before proceeding to other arms, it is worthy of mention that in the Bateman Collection is preserved a beautiful mould, in two halves, in which socketed celts were cast, found in Cleveland;¹ and that other indicia of local manufacture are seen in the jet or spirt found with the brazen relics at Westow (plate 8, fig. 7). Similar excess of casting metal from the orifices of moulds have been met with in this country, as at Marden, Kent,² and Heathery Burn Cave, Durham;³ and the fantastic forms sometimes assumed by the spirt have given rise to strange ideas as to what it really is.

There is not unfrequently found associated with the socketed celt an object denominated by the Danish antiquaries *paalstab*, under the supposition that it is the instrument mentioned in the Sagas as being employed in battering the foemen's shields; but whether it was really used in warfare, is still a very doubtful matter. One of these axe- or chisel-shaped relics, with the sides of the stem bent round to form a socket, occurred among the brazen objects from Westow, and is delineated in plate 8, fig. 1; and a *paalstab* of superior fabric, with cross-ridge to prevent its splitting up the handle, is described in the *Journal* (xiv, 346). This specimen was ploughed up in a field in Cundall Manor, in the North Riding.⁴

The *cleddyv*, or sword, and the *bidogan*, or dagger, were the common weapons of the Celtic soldier in every part of the Britannic islands; and the examples of these arms found in Yorkshire present no great difference from those of other counties. A portion of a *cleddyv* is shewn among the objects from Bilton (plate 8, fig. 2). The blade has a strong mid-rib extending up the handle-plate; the latter being perforated with six holes, through which the rivets passed in securing the wooden, bone, or horn hilt now lost.

Most of the Yorkshire daggers that I have more particularly noticed consisted of blades to which the hilts were secured by rivets; but in the group of celts, chisels, etc., from Westow, will be seen a portion of a *bidogan* of rather elegant form, having a socket into which the haft was driven. (Plate 8, fig. 6.) Daggers of this type vary from

¹ *Journal*, xv, 235.

² *Ib.*, xiv, 259, fig. 9.

³ *Ib.*, xviii, 383.

⁴ A Brigantian *paalstab* found together with a ring or ferrule at Winwick, Lancashire, is also engraved in the *Journal*, xv, 236.

four to twelve inches in length, and are more frequently discovered in Ireland than in this country.

The brazen sword and dagger were both probably carried at the side of the warrior in a *gwain* or scabbard; but so far as England is concerned, Yorkshire is the only county that has hitherto produced a trace of such an article. On June 12, 1861, the late Mr. Bateman laid before the Association an unique object found with bronze swords and human bones at Ebberston in the North Riding, which I at once recognised as the ferrule of a sword-sheath, identical in form and fabric with examples exhumed in Ireland. This ferrule has an oval aperture above to receive the point of the blade, is roundish beneath, and stretches out on either side like a pair of horns, with bosses on their tips, indicating that the scabbard spread out at the base; and probably like the sheath of the leaf-shaped swords of Africa, contracted above and again expanded, in conformity with the contour of the enclosed weapon. For a more detailed account of the Ebberston relic, I must refer my readers to *Journal*, xvii, p. 321, where it and other illustrative specimens will be found described and delineated.

I have now to notice one of the most formidable weapons of the Celtic armoury, the *bwyallt-arv*, or battle-axe, of which two distinct types are found; the one of frequent occurrence, the other of such exquisite rarity that Yorkshire may well boast of having produced two examples. The common form of war-axe is given on plate 7, fig. 6; the blade of which may be compared to a cheese-cutter in shape, with a broad tang for insertion into the wooden haft. Similar axes of iron, mounted in the way just indicated, are met with in Africa at the present day.

Two examples of the second type of battle-axe will be found delineated on plate 7, from the Huxtable Collection. The blades of both present pretty nearly the same contour, but the butts and sockets differ widely. In fig. 3 the perforation for the haft is simply through the thickest portion of the weapon; and the obtuse butt extends upwards and downwards for some distance, and can have been of little further service than by giving weight to the axe, and affording protection to the head of the wooden shaft. In fig. 4 we see the socket, consisting of a cylindrical tube



with full, round edges, and the acuminated butt set on a stout, four-sided stem at some distance from the socket.

Among the ancient Celtic weapons exhumed from the memorable field of Bannockburn, which clearly indicate that a battle had here been fought centuries before the time of Bruce, is a war-axe engraved in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 685. It is of bronze with a core of iron, marking it to belong to a late period of Celtic history. It is of the cheese-cutter form, with the edge greatly broken, the butt set on the end of a stout stem, and the tubular socket closed above with a conic boss. Its height is four inches and three quarters, and its length eight inches and a quarter, but must have been considerably longer when perfect.

In Worsaae's *Afbildninger* (plate 24) are two brazen axes, the one with an open tubular socket and pointed butt, which may be compared with the Yorkshire weapon (plate 7, fig. 4); the other with a tubular socket closed above, in a similar mode to the example from Bannockburn. The first of the Danish axes weighs full seven pounds, and measures fifteen inches in length; the second is sixteen inches long and ten across its edge. The latter is cast in a core of clay, and is inlaid in parts with thin gold plating. The Yorkshire, Scottish, and Scandinavian axes were doubtlessly the arms or insignia of chieftains who lived towards the close of the bronze period.

It is to this most important and gloomy epoch of British history that we must assign the remains of the Brigantian chieftain, his steeds, and war-chariot, discovered in one of the Arras barrows near Pocklington in the East Riding. This potent charioteer (*essedarius*) probably flourished about the time when the insatiate lust of conquest urged the Roman hosts to quit their continental plunder, and seek fresh spoils among the tribes of Britain. For awhile the winds of heaven and native bravery baffled the mighty efforts of the Cæsars. Nobly did the Brigantes withstand the invading foes led successively by the Emperor Claudius and the imperial generals, Ostorius Scapula, Petilius Cerealis, and Lollius Urbicus, whose triumphs are celebrated on medallions of Antoninus Pius, whereon the genius of the island is seen seated on a rock with her shield beside her, in moody solitude.¹ The rapacious eagle had now

¹ See *Journal*, xiii, 248.

steeped its beak and talons deep in the crimson gore of its victims, its wings fluttered exultingly over the once free domains of the Brigantes, and their chief cities and strong places were garrisoned by the veterans of the sixth legion,—that legion which rejoiced in the proud and triple epithet of “*Victrix, Pia, Fidelis*.” The glory of the Brigantian kingdom had passed away, the power of its people was for ever broken, and in time their broad territories were numbered among the states of *Maxima Cæsariensis*.

ON WAY-SIDE CHAPELS AND THE CHAPEL ON THE BRIDGE AT WAKEFIELD.

BY F. R. WILSON, ESQ.

THE name of Chapel is now applied to all small ecclesiastical fabrics, not being parish churches, that are used for the purposes of worship. Before the Reformation it more especially indicated the sacred edifices devoted to prayer only, containing no baptismal font, and possessing no burying-ground. These were sometimes isolated, sometimes annexed. Kings and nobles sometimes possessed oratories incorporated with their residences, as well as isolated chapels in their court yards; and abbots, following their example, built for themselves private chapels within the confines of their abbeys. There were also chapels annexed to conventual and cathedral churches, such as Lady-chapels and chauntry chapels contained in the precincts of churches, as well as chapels belonging to colleges. In early mediæval times the oratories built over the graves of saints were called chapels; and the structure raised over the site of a miracle was also known by the same title.

The etymology of the term is traced to the memorable compassion of St. Martin, who, when a youth in the army, divided his raiment with a beggar. Butler, citing St. Sulpicius, thus records the circumstance:—

“One day, in the midst of a very hard winter and severe frost, when many perished with cold, as he was marching with other officers and

soldiers, he met at the gate of the city of Amiens a poor man, almost naked, trembling and shaking for cold, and begging alms of those that passed by. Martin, seeing those that went before him take no notice of this miserable object, thought he was reserved for himself. By his charities to others he had nothing left but his arms and clothes upon his back, when, drawing his sword, he cut his cloak in two pieces, gave one to the beggar, and wrapped himself in the other half. Some of the bystanders laughed at the figure he made in that dress, whilst others were ashamed not to have relieved the poor man. In the following night St. Martin saw in his sleep Jesus Christ dressed in that half of the garment which he had given away, and was bid to look at it well, and asked whether he knew it. He then heard Jesus say: ‘Martin, yet a catechumen, has clothed me with this garment.’”

A portion of the garment so generously divided by the young soldier, “la chape du bienheureux St. Martin,” was held in great veneration as a relic in France in the early ages of Christianity. It gave the name of *capella* or *chapelle* to the oratory in which it was preserved; and when, like other relics, it was carried into the field of battle by its royal possessors, it was guarded in a tent which was distinguished by the name of chapel (*chapelle*, a *capa*, *capella*). The clerics to whose charge the *cape* was confided, received the designation of chaplains.¹ In after times, the tent in which mass was celebrated in military expeditions, was called a chapel, and eventually the term came into still more general use, and the denomination of chaplain was applied to every priest. This tradition appears to have led to the practice of placing a relic in every place consecrated to the worship of the Divine Being; and this practice is quoted as the origin of the term. Thus *capella*, according to Johnson,² signifies a cabinet to contain holy relics, and in a larger sense a closet or chest for the repository of anything valuable: hence it came to signify a little church; for no church or chapel could be ordinarily consecrated without having the relics of some saint to be kept therein.

Modern ecclesiastical laws recognise but five classes of chapels: royal, free, collegiate, of ease, and private; although it will be found that our most modern work upon the subject³ subdivides them into as many as twenty-one:

¹ Guillaume Durand.

² Eccles. Laws, MCLXXXVIII, Pr.

³ Dictionary of Architecture.

collegiate, domestic, endowed public, episcopal free, guild, hermitage, hospital, mortuary, parochial, prison, private, proprietary, royal, sacrament, secular, sepulchral, union, votive, way-side chapels, chapels of ease, and *saintes-chapelles*.

The particular motive or feeling that called into existence the great extension in the number of chapels was the ancient custom of making pilgrimages. Most persons made pilgrimage on the occasion of important events in their lives, such as recovery from an illness, or the loss of a near relative; but those of more pious tendencies made annual pilgrimages as a matter of conscience. Guilds made annual pilgrimages to chapels in the vicinity of their boroughs and made offerings. Pregnant women frequently made pilgrimages; persons about to undertake a voyage generally visited a shrine to secure intercession of the saint for their safety; and on their return, they would go through the same ceremony to return thanks. At last, servants and young people generally inconveniently resorted to the prevailing practice to avoid the execution of their proper duties; and crowds of idle persons wandered about the country upon pretence that they were pilgrims. This ultimately led to the custom falling into disregard in England, but not before it had created a demand for numerous way-side chapels. Hermitages were sometimes built by the road-sides frequented by pilgrims on their routes to particularly popular shrines; and in occasional instances they were the objects of pilgrimages themselves. Way-side chapels were also frequently placed in the approaches to bridges, and less frequently built upon the piers themselves. There were chapels of this kind on bridges at Elvet in Durham, at Exeter, at Newcastle, and on Old London Bridge; and there are still chapels on bridges at Barnard Castle over the Ouse, and that which we are now examining, over the Calder, at Wakefield, in Yorkshire. Nash¹ states that the high road passed through the midst of the chapel at Droitwich, the reading-desk and pulpit being on one side and the congregation on the other.

Way-side chapels are much more frequent in continental countries than in our own. Indeed, in travelling

¹ Collections for the History of Worcestershire. Lond., 1799. Fol.

abroad, the pretty way-side chapels and crosses, with peasants kneeling, serve more than most other things to remind us that we are away from home. In Switzerland the shingled spires of road-side chapels built on the central piers of bridges cast their shadows into many a snow stream. In France and Italy they are equally numerous. They are of much diversity of form, some being square or oblong, whilst others are built upon triangular, hexagonal, and circular plans. There are numerous examples of chapels built of two stories in height, as at the gorgeous Sainte-Chapelle at Paris. In these instances, the upper chapel, which was on a level with the principal floor of the palaces, contained the precious relics, and a gallery for the royal family to pay their devotions in; the lower was appropriated to public worship. When a chapel was built over a crypt, this disposition was reversed: the crypt contained the relics and the chapel was devoted to worship. A singular example exists about six kilometres from Mont Louis, called la Chapelle de Planès, composed of a cupola carried upon a triangular base having a large semicircular niche thrown out from each plane. This eccentric plan is assumed by M. Viollet-le-Duc to be emblematical of its dedication to the Trinity. Another curious example of an isolated chapel exists in a cemetery within the precincts of the Abbey of Mont Major, near Arles. This is built upon a quatrefoil formed plan, having a porch thrown out from one of the semicircles to form an entrance: it is surmounted by a bell turret. The most recent of French way-side chapels is that built upon the spot upon which the Duke of Orleans, eldest son of Louis Philippe met with the accident that occasioned his death. The most remarkable of the ancient continental way-side chapels, however, is that dedicated to Santa Maria de l'Epina, built upon the approach to the Ponte Nuovo over the Arno at Pisa. It is built of the rich materials of the locality, and is elaborately ornamented with niches containing statues. Those who have seen it radiant with sunshine, as I saw it on the quay-side, will need no reminder of its many graces. It was erected *circa* A.D. 1230. Alterations and renovations, rendered necessary by its decay or destruction, have been made in successive centuries. A single thorn, said to be from the Holy Crown of Thorns,

was enshrined in it, and the way-side chapel of St. Mary of the Thorn became the object of prayer and pilgrimage.

CHAPEL ON WAKEFIELD BRIDGE.—Those who look upon this chapel, and think they are examining ancient work, are woefully mistaken: the ancient beautiful west façade is now built up as the front of a boat-house or summer-house on the margin of a lake in the grounds of Kettlethorpe Hall, two miles distant. The present structure is modern, save one small scrap at the east end, the ancient chapel having been taken down as far as the cluster of mouldings corbelled out from its basement which abuts against the fifth pier of the bridge and this built upon its site, 1847. I would that I could add that it is a skilful restoration, but I am bound to point out that the tracery of the three light north and south windows is wiry, and that the ornamental parts of the western and the other fronts are but clumsy incorrect imitations of the ancient work, made without either sentiment or conservative feeling.

Of the chapel, we have various notices. Whittaker¹ mentions a charter (1357), 31 Edward III, relating to a rent-charge of £10 per annum, granted by that monarch to two chaplains to perform divine service daily in the chapel of St. Marie, then newly erected on Wakefield Bridge; and on this charter hangs much discussion among local antiquaries. Leland states:²

“In this towne (Wakefield) is but one chefe church. There is a chapel beside, where was wont to be ‘anachoreta in media urbe, unde et aliquando inventa facunda.’ There is also a chapel of our Lady on Calder Bridge, wont to be celebrated ‘à peregrinis.’.... These things I especially notid in Wakefield. The faire bridge of stone of nine arches, under the which rennith the river of Calder; and on the est side of this bridge is a right goodly chapel of our Lady, and two cantuarie prestes founded in it of the fundacion of the townesmen, as sum say: but the Dukes of York were taken as founders for obteyning the mortemayn. I hard one say that a servant of King Edward the 4’s father, or else of the Erle of Rutland, brother to King Edward the 4, was a great doer of it. There was a sore battel fought in the south fieldes by this bridge; and yn the flite of the Duke of Yorke’s parte, other the Duke himself or his sun the Erle of Rutteland, was slayne a little above the barres beyond the bridge going up on Clyving ground. At this place is set up a crosse *in rei memoriam.*”

¹ Loidis and Elmete, Lond., 1816, p. 289.

² Itinerary, i, 53; vii, 44.

When Defoe passed through Wakefield, the chapel was used as a warehouse. At the commencement of this century it was converted into a news-room; and it has been used as a spice shop, guard room, and for other menial purposes. A brass plate over the mantel piece in the summer-house at Kettlethorpe, tells us the other particulars of its history:

“This : structure : is : built : with : the : remains : of : the : original : west : front : and : other : fragments : of : St. : Maries : chantry : which : stood : on : Wakefield : Bridge : in : the : reign : of : Ed. : III : about : A.D. : 1357 : Restored : by : Edward : the : IV : after : the : battle : of : Wakefield : A.D. : 1460 : who : dedicated : the : chapel : to : the : memory : of : his : father : the : Duke : of : York : it : was : defaced : by : unseemly : repairs : A.D. : 1794 : On : the : restoration : of : the : chantry : A.D. : 1847 : the : ruins : were : purchased : by : the : Honorable : George : Chapple : Norton : and : in : the : same : year : was : re-erected : by : him : on : this : spot : under : the : superintendence : of : William : Fox : sculptor : Multos : que : per : annos : stat : fortuna : domus : et : ave : numerantur : ævorum.”

A curious feature,—I can scarcely call it a lamentable one,—of this so-called restoration is, that it is already in rapid decay. Many of the crockets and finials are off: others are only hanging on metal pins, and nearly the whole of the surface or crust of the work is peeling off: this I attribute to the fact that Caen stone has been used in its reconstruction instead of the local stone of which the bridge and the ancient chapel were built, or of some more durable stone from the county similar to that employed in those of the Yorkshire abbeys, that have best stood the test of time. I would especially bemoan the treatment of the alto-relievos in the western front. There are five large subjects placed in niches beneath canopies, which are divided from one another by buttressed mullions, the whole surmounted by battlements, and forming a frieze. In the original sculptures which I have inspected at Kettlethorpe Hall, I see the drapery of the figures is formed with bold severe lines, and large folds: in the reproduction its folds are frittered away in many portions. The subjects represented are:—1. The Annunciation; 2. The Holy Nativity; 3. The Resurrection of our Lord; 4. The Ascension; 5. St. Mary crowned, accompanied by St. Anne.¹

¹ For the last mentioned, the restorer has substituted the Descent of Tongues!

The chapel, as it stands, consists of two chambers one above another, the foundations of which are built on an islet in the River Calder. The upper chamber is level with the bridge and forms the chapel proper. The lower chamber, I believe to have been the sacristy; and I expect that it was from this chamber that the officiating priest proceeded to the altar. I am borne out in the impression that there was a private entrance for the priest from the islet, in the fact that a doorway, convenient for that purpose, is remembered to have existed where a window opening is now formed at the east end. This lower chamber, which measured sixteen feet wide by about nine feet, and eight feet high to the rafters, was enlarged in the recent alterations by hollowing out a recess into the pier. The old masonry and the old confines are easily distinguishable, as are the two original narrow splayed window slits on the north and south sides looking upon the river. The communication between this and the upper chamber consists of a narrow stone spiral staircase, but one foot eight inches wide, which is continued up to the roof of the chapel and terminates in a bell-turret. The walls of the upper chamber or chapel are only eighteen inches thick. The internal measurement is forty-one feet six inches by sixteen feet ten inches. A length of fourteen feet six inches of the roof at the east end is enriched with ornament on the panels; but no trace has been left upon the masonry to show where the ancient screen or division between chapel and ante-chapel existed. Upon the beam of the principal rafter marking the division in its new roof, there is now carved—

“VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO.”

The holy water stoup has been replaced by a font. The one scrap of ancient work still to be found in the chapel consists of portions of a niche at the north side of the eastern window, the chamfering of which is ornamented with patera, still bearing traces of colour. Both canopy and pedestal of the niche are new, and the figure has disappeared. The east window and three of those at the sides are filled with modern stained glass.

The external appearance of the fabric is that of a low oblong building with buttresses at each angle, terminating

in octagonal crocketed pinnacles with finials, splayed out from one of the piers of the bridge, and rising one story above it. At the north-east angle the roof-line is broken by a short octagonal turret. The east end has a five-light traceried window. The north sides are identical, the three large rectangular-headed windows are surmounted by a continuous parapet running from the east to the west angles of the building, consisting of a series of panels terminating in finials, most of which are now falling off. The west façade has three small doorways with two panels of the same dimensions between them, each of which is surmounted by ogee arches in alto-relievo, which in their turn are enclosed in gables in high relief, having finials for terminations. The spandrils formed by this arrangement are filled with minute flowing tracery panelling. This enrichment is finished with a frieze divided into compartments, to correspond with the doors and panels, which contain the sculptures I have described; and the frieze is finished with a battlemented cornice, the mouldings of which are already mutilated. There is not a stone that by any device, badge, crest, or heraldic ornament, confirms the tradition that the chapel was in any way a memorial of a battle, or of the royal slain. I must add that the ancient front set up at Kettlethorpe Hall, proves that the architecture of the original fabric is of a similar character and period to the west front of York Minster, and to parts of the grand pile at Beverley. I am disposed to believe that this was simply a way-side chapel lying on a well frequented route between the numerous Yorkshire abbeys and shrines. A welcome sight, I have no doubt it must have been, to the eyes of those who trod the long narrow bridge over the Calder by day or in the dark, and doubtless there were but few strangers who would pass it without entering to offer up a prayer for the safe issue of their journey. This supposition by no means affects the possibility that the edifice was originally the chauntry mentioned as newly built in the reign of Edward III; for the late chapel may have been built on a former foundation as easily as the present structure has been so raised. It should be observed that the bridge has been considerably widened. The eastern side on which the chapel is situated, has the nine ancient chamfered and ribbed

arches, each formed of the segment of a pointed arch, while the opposite side has as many modern plain semi-circular arches.

Apart from the absence of conservative spirit with which the rebuilding has been handled, the three thousand pounds said to have been expended in the work have not been altogether thrown away. The fabric, before used for rough secular purposes, is now reclaimed to an ecclesiastical purpose, a weekly service being performed in it every Thursday evening. An effort is being made to procure a curate for the especial purpose of officiating in this in many respects singular little structure. Unless, however, something is done at once to preserve the masonry and carving, there is danger of speedy obliteration of the leading features of the way-side chapel on Wakefield bridge.¹

¹ In 1843 Messrs. Buckler published *Remarks upon Way-side Chapels, with Observations on the Architecture and Present State of the Chantry on Wakefield Bridge*; and to the plans and illustrations given in this little volume the reader is referred. He will there find a north-east view of the chapel, and another as seen from the bridge, from drawings by Buckler taken in 1813; together with a plan of the chapel, a drawing of the tracery of the side windows, a plan of the basement, and representations of the sculpture in the central and fifth compartments of the west front; a comparative description of the New College sculptures, with those in front of the chapel at Wakefield, the subjects being alike,—is interesting; and the several engravings of the chapel are enumerated, being one by Cawthorn, a second in the *Vale of Bolton*, a third by W. H. Toms, from a drawing by Geo. Fleming, 1743; and a fourth by Le Keux, published in Whittaker's *Loidis and Elmete*, in 1816, from a drawing by Thos. Taylor. The Messrs. Buckler regard the edifice as originally belonging to the reign of Edward II, and they justly condemn the too hasty and incorrect description penned for the *Beauties of England and Wales*, as being not merely worthless, but mischievous, "inasmuch as it leads those who, having neither eyes nor understanding of their own, repeat errors which the most ordinary observation would detect and set aside." (P. 46.)

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE TOWN AND MANOR OF WAKEFIELD AND SANDAL CASTLE.

BY GEORGE WENTWORTH, ESQ.

ALTHOUGH no evidence is in existence to prove that Wakefield was a Roman station, it yet appears from *Camden's Britannia*, that, in 1697, between Wakefield Outwood and Thorp on the Hill at Lingwell Gate, were found certain clay moulds for Roman coins, all of emperors in whose reigns the money is known to have been counterfeited.¹ In the year 1812, Mr. T. Pitt exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries forty Roman coins, found in an earthen vessel upon the estate of the Marquis of Hertford, in Wakefield Outwood. At this spot a considerable quantity, amounting in weight to no less than forty lbs., had at various times been discovered, and they proved to be of Licinius, sen., Constantinus Maximus, Crispus, Constantinus, jun., and Constantius II.² In 1820 a number of clay moulds for Roman coins were found at the same place, and presented to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Pitt.³ In March 1831, Mr. Wm. Knight also exhibited some Roman coin clay moulds found at Lingwell Gate, which place takes its name from the Ligones quartered at Olicana, Ilkley, and Wall, a corruption of Vallum. The substances of which they were composed were unlike that of the soil of the place. In one a coin was found very perfect and sharp, which would lead to the supposition that they were not the work of the Roman forgers, but that the moulds were used by the Roman general to coin the money with which he paid his troops.⁴ There have also been coins found at Alverthorpe, which is about a mile and a half from Wakefield.

From the above evidence, and from the traces of a sunken military road which have also been revealed, it is supposed that there was a Roman station near Wakefield, connecting Cambodunum with Legeolium and Danum (now Castleford and Doncaster). It appears from *Domes-*

¹ Gough's *Camden*, iii. 40.

² *Archæologia*, xvii, 333.

³ *Archæologia*, xix, 412.

⁴ *Ib.* xxiv, 349.

day Book, that in the time of Edward the Confessor, whose reign commenced A.D. 975, it constituted one of the royal demesnes. The name is given in that record as Wachefield, and it appears to have been derived from the field of Wache, its possessor probably in Saxon times.¹ *Domesday Book* describes it as follows: "In Wachefield (Wakefield), with nine berewicks, Sandala (Sandal), Sorebi (Sowerby), Werla (Warley), Feslei (Fishlake), Miclei (Midgely), Wadesnurde (Wadsworth), Crumbetonsetun (Crosstone), Lanfeld (Langfield), and Stanesfelt (Stansfield), there are sixty carucates and three oxgangs, and the third part of an oxgang, of land to be taxed; thirty ploughs may till these lands. This manor was in the demesne of King Edward. There are now there in the king's hand four villanes, and three priests, and two churches, and seven sokemen, and sixteen bordars. They together have seven ploughs, wood pasture six miles long and six miles broad; value in the time of King Edward sixty pounds, at present fifteen pounds. Within the manor of Wakefield are the following parishes: Sandal Magna, Woodkirk, Dewsbury, Emley, Kirkburton, and Halifax (except the townships of Elland cum Greetland and Southowram), and parts of the parishes of Almondbury, Kirkheaton, Huddersfield, Normanton, and Thornhill." It will thus be seen that the manor of Wakefield is very extensive, including that of Halifax, and stretching from Normanton to the boundaries of Lancashire and Cheshire. It is more than thirty miles in length from east to west, and comprises more than one hundred and eighteen towns, villages, and hamlets, of which Wakefield and Halifax are the chief. The two churches mentioned in *Domesday*, Thoresby thinks, without doubt, are Wakefield and Sandal churches. Dr. Naylor is of opinion that the old Saxon church was situated at the north end of the town, and probably on the site of the subsequent chapel of St. John's, in St. John's Field; and Leland,² in the reign of Henry VIII, writes thus: "The principale chirch that now is yn Wakefeld is but of a new work, but

¹ Whitaker, in *Loidis and Elmete* (p. 274), thinks the name nothing more than the appellation of the first Saxon possessor combined with that of the estate. It was common at the time when the *villare* of this country was formerly thus to denominate whole townships by the terminating syllable "field."

² *Itinerary*, i, 43.



it is exceeding faire and large." He further remarks: "Sum think that whereas now is a chapelle of ease, at the other ende of the towne, was ons the old paroch church." This appears probable, for foundations of a large building and gravestones have been dug up near the proprietary school. The chapel of St. John's was founded by one John Locke, and we are informed that Thomas Ryther in his will, proved in 1528, bequeathed the sum of twenty pounds towards the founding of one place in the seminary there. We have proof that this chapel was in existence in 32nd Henry VI, and that an anchorite resided there in Leland's time.¹

It is probable that the manor of Wakefield was granted in the reign of William Rufus, between the years 1091 and 1097, to William de Warren, second Earl of Surrey. It has been asserted by some writers, that it was granted to William, first Earl of Warren, but this does not appear probable, as Leland says that "at the time of the Domesday Survey (1080), Will. de Warenne was already in possession of Conisbro', with its numerous and valuable dependencies, but Wakefield, as we have already seen, "with its berewicks and its soke, was yet in the crown;" and "the first legal act by which it can be proved that the family were seized of the manor of Wakefield, with its dependent lordships, is the charter of William, the second Earl of Warren, by which he grants to God and St. Pancras of Lewis, besides other churches, the church of Wakefield, with its appurtenances." William, the first Earl of Warren, standing nearly allied to the Conqueror (viz., nephew to the countess his great grandmother), accompanied the Conqueror to England; and having distinguished himself at the battle of Hastings, obtained an immense portion of the public spoliation. He had large grants of land in several counties; so extensive, indeed, were those grants, that his possessions more resembled the dominions of a sovereign prince than the estates of a subject. He was married to Gundred, the daughter of the Conqueror. This potent noble founded the priory of Lewes, in Sussex, and endowed it with the church of

¹ "In the towne is but one chefe chirch. There is a chapel beside, where was wont to be '*anachoreta in mediâ urbe, unde et aliquando incerta fecunda.*' There is also a Chapel of our Lady on Calder Bridge wont to be celebrated '*à peregrinis.*'"

Wakefield and Sandal Magna, with other lands besides mentioned. He died A.D. 1089, and was buried in the chapter house of his priory at Lewes. His wife, Gundred, died A.D. 1085, about three years before him, and was also buried in the chapter house at Lewes.¹

This great earl was succeeded by his son William, according to Mr. Hunter (in his *Deanery of Doncaster*), between the years 1091 and 1097. When he was yet young in age, and new to his possessions, he gave the church of Conisbro' and all its dependencies, with the church of Wakefield with its appurtenances, to his father's monastery of Lewes. The date of donation, about which there has been some misconception, is to be collected from the names of the witnesses, among whom are three bishops named Ralph, Gundulph, and Walkeline. These bishops were contemporary in their respective sees only during that interval. The grant is very extensive both in new donations and in confirmations of the gifts of his father: "In Eborasira vero dedi eis ecclesiam de Conyngeburg cum aliis ecclesiis decimis et terris et omnibus suis appendiciis, et *ecclesiam de Wakfeld* cum pertinentiis suis." In these few words and simple terms an interest is conveyed which in these times would be estimated too low at £10,000 *per annum*. We may observe also that the gift of the church of Wakefield plainly shews that Wakefield had been granted to the Warrens before the time of Henry I, as by some antiquaries had been supposed. This second earl also made a confirmation of the church of Wakefield and of Sandal Magna, with the other churches granted by his father, to the monastery of Lewes. The earl was slain in the Holy Land in 1147, and left only one daughter, his heiress, who survived him about fifty years. As Mr. Hunter says, this great lady could be given to no husband but one of royal extraction. She was first married to William of Blois, one of the sons of King Stephen, who died without issue in 1159. She was afterwards given by Henry II to his half-brother, Hameline, an illegitimate son of Geoffrey Earl of Anjou.

There are several deeds of this earl relating to Wakefield. He confirmed the gift of the church and tithes of

¹ For particulars relating to the discovery of the leaden coffins and remains of Gundreda and the Earl of Warren, see *Journal*, vol. i, pp. 346-357, and vol. ii, pp. 104-108.

it to the monastery of Lewes; and Thoresby¹ remarks that he has in his possession the transcript of the charters of this Hameline and John, earls of Warren, to their burgesses of Wakefield, wherein the one grants them liberty “ut capiant in nemore nostro de Wakefield mortuum boscum ardere”; the other is a grant of pannage, or liberty of hogs’ feeding, in all his woods there, reserving only a rent of 2*d.* for every hog, and 1*d.* for a pig. That there was an immense wood upon Wakefield Heath in ancient times, is evident from these deeds; and that it was well stocked with trees, is evident from ancient writings, wherein it is called the Mickle Wood. Thoresby mentions he had heard there was so thick a wood there formerly, that a person was employed in directing travelers over that very place where now is the full road between Leeds and Wakefield. About two hundred and twenty years ago an atlas was published which shews that all the way from Wakefield Outwood to Leeds must have been one thick wood.

To Hameline, fifth Earl of Surrey, succeeded William de Warren, sixth Earl of Surrey. He married first, Maud, daughter of William Earl of Arundel, and secondly Maud, daughter, and at length one of the coheirs, of William Earl of Pembroke, widow of Hugh Earl of Norfolk. This earl confirmed to Lewes the gift of their Yorkshire churches. He died in 1239, leaving a son John, who succeeded him as seventh Earl of Surrey, and was married to Alice, daughter of Hugh le Brun, Earl of the Marches of Aquitaine, sister by the mother to Henry III.

The Court Rolls of the manor of Wakefield begin in the year 1272, in the time of John, this seventh Earl of Warren. They are in the possession of Mr. Lumb of the Rolls Office, Wakefield; and I may justly remark that in few courts will be found rolls so well preserved.² The court

¹ *Ducatus Leodiensis*, ed. 1816, by Whitaker, p. 184.

² The Court Rolls of Wakefield commence as early as the reign of Edward I, and up to the 23rd Edward III are so denominated; but from that year to the 33rd Edward III they are styled as of the court of the Countess of Warren. Among them the following notices of presentations, amercements, etc., are worthy of record:

“1272.—Edward I began to reign 20 Nov. 1272.

“1297.—Wakefend. St. Edward the archbishop.

“Richard, the leper, for not entering nor being willing to be grave-collector, 6*s.* 8*d.*

baron of the manor, which is held in the Moot Hall at Wakefield, holds plea for recovery of debts under £5, and in matters of replevin. Within the manor are held four courts leet, or sheriffs' tours, viz., at Wakefield, Halifax, Brighouse, and Holmfirth.

"1298.—On the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. License to build a bakehouse.

"1308.—The abbot and Convent of Founteysnought to repair Bradley Bridge.

"1311.—Amercement: bread *sine pondere*. Henry Marryon, stopping the road in North Gate.

"1312.—Amercements: for drawing blood with her nails; for placing a fish-lepe in the dam.

"1314.—John Bolling and Alice his wife complain of Ingelland, the vicar of Halifax, for detaining a gold ring.

"Selling beer without the taster's sanction.

"On the Feast of St. James. Alice of Skryveyn, prioress of Kirklees, against Richard, the priest of Herteshed, for seizing her cattle.

"The abbot of Fountains distrained on, and thirteen horses taken, for not repairing a bridge at Bradley. xls.

"1324.—Annabil, the Badger, for selling flour mixed with dust; and nine others for the same.

"1325.—Robert of Burton, priest, for pleading in the Spiritual Court, 12d.

"Robert, the priest of Sandal, for drawing blood of Robert the ploughman.

"On the Feast of Hillary an ale-taster elected for Stanley.

"1326.—Twelve jurors at Halifax Court. Monday before the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, present, sworn on the Articles, that the prior of Lewes ought by right, according to custom, to entertain the steward *et receptorem* and all bailiffs of our lord the Earl (John de Warren, eighth earl) when he comes to Halifax twice a year to hold the court leet, and ought to find for them and all their horses all necessaries which they stay for their said lands.

"The hospitallers of Newland to be distrained upon to answer the lord for a bakehouse.

"1335.—Carrying the corn growing at Sandal, in the lord's copyhold land, to land he holds at Newland of the hospitallers there.

"1336.—The abbot of Furness for not repairing a bridge, 5s.

"The abbot of Founteysnought for not repairing a bridge over Keldar (Calder), 6s. 8d.

"1450.—Plays at speres. No games after 9 in the evening. 40d.

"1452.—The miller of Wakefield for too much mulcture.

"1463.—The miller at Newmillerdam for taking excessive mulcture.

"1476.—Wakefield. For Barking Hollies to make bird lime.

"Halifax. It is ordered that the inhabitants of the parish of Halifax that nobody carry an unreasonable weapon, as a sword, an axe, or a bill, or a spear, under pain of forfeiting the same weapon to the lord, and paying 3s. 4d.

"1495.—Presentment of a common scould.

"1507.—Crigglestone. The farmer of New Milldam fined 1s. each for keeping 40 cocks and hens.

"1508.—Two parties fined for not allowing them to taste their ale.

"1515.—The bailiff presents for not selling beer to poor people at Norman-ton. 3s. 4d.

"Stanley. Taking oak branches and holly bark for sustaining their animals in winter.

"1534.—Lister, Richard, and Sele, capellani of the Chantry of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the bridge of Wakefield, for license to have to themselves and successors the land and buildings near the Mill dam, lately taken from the waste, for the use of the said chantry. 12d.

"Robert Gargrave takes of the lord, for the use of the church, a parcel of land in the Miln Royd, called Little Stonyr, as it lays on the north side of the Calder."

What the spirit of this great Earl John was, may be collected from the attack which he made upon Sir Alan le Zouch and Roger his son, in the king's court at Westminster, where he nearly killed one and wounded the other; and his memorable answer in the *quo warranto* proceedings of Edward I, which has been so often published that it is needless to repeat it. What he was also among his neighbours in Yorkshire, we may collect from what Mr. Hunter has published in his *Deanery of Doncaster* concerning the abbot of Roche's granger and forester at Armthorpe; where we find that in the Hundred Rolls it is alleged that William de Cunchal Alan, son of the chaplain, and many others, had been sent by Richard de Heydon, who was the seneschal of the Earl of Warren, to the grange of the abbot of Roche at Armthorpe, without the liberties of the said earl, and there took brother Richard, the granger, and John, the forester of the said abbot, because the said John had wounded a certain wild animal with an arrow in the wood of the said abbot, and pursued it within the limits of the warren of the said earl. The granger and the forester were both taken to the Castle of Coningsburg, and there kept until the abbot came thither and paid a fine of £40 for the granger; but the same fine would not be accepted for the unfortunate forester, and he was kept in prison for a whole year. In the same record also (the Hundred Rolls) we find Richard de Heydon, his seneschal, charged with having imprisoned Beatrice, the wife of William Scissor (Taylor) of Rotherham, at Wakefield, for a whole year, because she impleaded the earl for a tenement at Greasborough; and how she was set at liberty, the jury knew not. From another part of the same rolls we find that he claimed as an inheritance from his ancestors a free chase in the manor of Wakefield. This was in 1277. In the Court Rolls of the manor of Wakefield, of this earl, in 1298, I find a curious licence to build a bakehouse in Wakefield, as follows:

“Wakefend. Johannes Ceussing habet licenciam edificand. unum furnum in Botha sua sub tali forma quod dictus reddit inde domino per annum vjs. viij*l*. ad tres terminos videlicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis ijs. iij*l*. ad purificationem beate Marie ijs. iij*l*. et ad eadem festum Pentecoste ijs. ij*l* ad dictum redditum dictus Johannes obligavit per se et heredes vel successoribus suis omnia tenementa sua in villa

de Wakefend tam in burgagium quam bothis ad dictum ex eis tenend. si contingat non potest sufficere ad dictum redditum sustenand. et quod perpetuus comes pro tempore fuit possit distringere eadem tenementa pro predicto redditu."

In the memory of many people now living in Wakefield, there was an old bakehouse standing in Westgate, which probably stood on the site of the one here referred to.

John, the seventh earl, died in 1304, and was succeeded by John the eighth and last Earl of Warren, grandson of the former, his father having been killed in a tournament in 1280. To this earl Edward I gave his granddaughter, Joan de Bar, in marriage, which, however, was not a happy one. He obtained a divorce from his wife Joan, on whom he settled an allowance of seven hundred and forty marks a year, and she appears from the Wakefield Rolls to have held courts at Wakefield after his decease. After his divorce he was married to his favourite mistress, Maude de Neirford, by whom he had two sons, called John and Thomas Warren, and on these sons it was the desire of the earl that Conisbro', and his property north of Trent, should descend, while the rest was left to take the course appointed by law, and become annexed to the property of the Earls of Arundel. For this purpose he conveyed to the king "*castra et villas meas de Coningsburgh et Sandal, et maneria mea de Wakefeld, Hatfeld, Thorne, Sowerby, Braithwell, Fishlake, Dewsbury, et Ilalifax.*" This charter is dated on the Thursday next after the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, 9th Edward II (1316). That feast day is on the 29th of June; and on the 4th of August following the king reconveys all that had been passed to him to the earl for life, remainder to Maude de Neirford for life, remainder to his sons John and Thomas Warren. However, this remarkable disposition did not take place in the way which he had intended, for both these sons died before him, and he also survived Maude de Neirford. He was engaged in a scandalous intrigue with Alice de Lacy, wife of his neighbour, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who, on the Monday before Ascension Eve, 1317, was carried off by violence and conveyed to a castle of the Earl of Warren at Reigate, in Surrey. The Earl of Lancaster proceeded to avenge himself by laying

siege to the earl's castles in Yorkshire (Coningsburgh and Sandal), and Sandal was demolished by him in revenge for this: but it was rebuilt by the Earl of Warren in 1321. In the year 1318 the Earl of Lancaster obtained a grant from the Earl of Warren of his manor of Wakefield, probably as a makepeace for the offences committed against him by the earl, but he only enjoyed it for three years, being attainted for high treason, and beheaded at his castle of Pontefract. Thus Warren became again possessed of his manor of Wakefield. He died in 1347, and, leaving no legitimate issue, the manor of Wakefield came into the possession of Joan de Bar, the earl's former wife. On her death, in the 33rd Edward III, the manor again devolved to the crown; and, in 1362, Edward III gave his fifth son, Edmund de Langley, all the castles, manors, and lands north of the Trent, formerly belonging to John, Earl of Warren, of which the manor of *Wakefield* and Sandal castle were part. Edmund, however, at the time of the grant being not more than six years of age, his mother, Queen Philippa, was allowed to receive the profits for his education and that of her other younger children. He had been created by his father Earl of Cambridge; but, in the 9th Richard II, he was advanced to the title of Duke of York. He was married twice, first, to one of the daughters of Peter, surnamed the Cruel, King of Castile and Leon; and, secondly, to a daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, who outlived him. By his first wife he had two sons and a daughter.

Edward, his eldest son, succeeded to the manors after his father's death, and was slain at Agincourt in 1415. Dying without issue, his estates came to his nephew, Richard, Duke of York. Sandal castle appears to have been a favorite residence of his. We find from William of Worcester, that the lords of the party of Lancaster were laying waste his lands in Yorkshire, when he hastened to Sandal castle, and arrived there on the 21st of December, 1460. The battle of Wakefield¹ ensued, in

¹ This battle was fought upon the 30 of December, 1460, and was indeed truly a fight of brother against brother; for on the side of the Yorkists there fell Sir John Harrington, who had married the sister of the Lord Clifford, who made himself but too conspicuous on the side of the Lancastrians. Sir Thomas (Sir John's father) also died of his wounds on the following day. As to the site of the battle of Wakefield, it has been supposed by some writers to

which he lost his life. By his death the manor of Wakefield again came to the crown in the person of Edward IV, who, by the battle of Towton, had become firmly seated on the throne. In the *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, A.D. 1495 (11th Henry VII), we find a resumption by the king of the manors, castles, towns, lordships, etc., of Wakefield, Hattefeld, Sandhall, etc., aforetime granted by letters patent of Edward III and Richard II to Edmund Langley, late Duke of York.

The manor of Wakefield remained in the crown till 1554, when it was united to the Duchy of Lancaster; and in the reign of Charles I it was granted to Henry, Earl of Holland, who was beheaded 9th of March, 1649, by sentence of the High Court of Justice for attempting to restore Charles to the throne. The manor was then granted by the parliament to Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, who gave it to Sir Gervase Clifton as a marriage portion with his daughter. Sir Gervase sold the manor to Christopher Clapham, about 1657. In 1700, the heiress of Sir Christopher sold it to the Duke of Leeds, in whose family it remained till 1826, when Sackville Walter Lane Fox having married the Lady Charlotte Osborne, daughter

have been fought on the flat meadows called the Pugneys, which stretch from the Castle to the banks of the Calder; but unluckily for those who have imagined the name to have been derived from the Latin *pugna* (a battle), and therefore indicative of the exact site of the bloody engagement, Mr. Lumb, the Keeper of the Rolls Office at Wakefield, has discovered that the fields in that direction bore the name of Pukenalls at least forty-seven years prior to the battle of Wakefield. It is much more probable that the battle took place in front of the Castle, and on the open space of ground which is even at the present day called Sandal Common. The spot where the Duke of York was killed upon the green is about four hundred yards from the Castle, close to the old road from Barnsley, now called, from the sign of a public house, Cock and Bottle Lane. It is a triangular piece of ground, in size about a rood or ten feet, with a fence about it which the tenant of the place is bound by his lease to maintain; and it has ever since the duke's death been free from taxes. Camden says that there was a cross erected on it to the memory of the duke, which was destroyed in the civil wars. There have been two rings found on the site of the battle. The first, on the inside, bore an inscription, "*Pur bon amour*"; and outside were delineated the figures of three saints. Camden gives a print of it. The other had on it inscribed the letter R, and very probably belonged to the Duke of York. I have not been able to find out in whose possession they are now. Between the river Calder and a place called Bellevue there have been found a quantity of old horseshoes, which very probably belonged to some of the horses of the men slain in the battle of Wakefield. The spot where the Duke of Rutland was slain still goes by the name of the Fall Ings, and lies on the left hand side of the bridge going to Heath. There was an old house standing, within a few years ago, close to the chapel on the bridge; and there was a tradition that the Duke of Rutland died in it.

of the Duke of Leeds, it came into his possession, and continues in it at the present time. It is rather a remarkable circumstance that two of its possessors, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and Henry, Earl of Holland, were beheaded for treason, whilst three others were slain in the battle field—such is the eventful history of the possessors of this extensive manor.

Leland¹ describes Wakefield as a very “quik market towne, and neatly large, wel servid of flesch and fische, both from the se and by ryvers, whereof dyvers be ther-about at hande, so that al vitail is very good and chepe there: a right honest man shal fare wel for two pens a meale.” He also informs us that “it standith now al by clothynge;” this has now given way to a flourishing trade in corn and wheat. In the year 1735, I find from the *Journal Book* of the House of Commons, that a petition was presented from Wakefield relating to the bill for explaining 7th George I for prohibiting the wear of printed calicoes. The bridge over the Calder would appear to have been built about the 6th Edward III,² as I find in that year that “Ballivi, et presbyteri, homines ville de Wakfeld, finem fecerunt cum rege per quadraginta solidos pro quibusdam literis de *pontugio* habend.” Leland also especially notes “the faire bridge of stone, of nine arches, under the which rennith the ryver of Calder; and on the est side of this bridge is a right goodly chapel of our lady.” The pointed gothic arch is still preserved on the eastern side; a few years ago it was widened and made more convenient. An extraordinary legend is related by Roger de Hoveden,³ which, as it may be of some use towards proving the antiquity of the Wakefield mills, I will here transcribe: “In the year 1201, Eustace, abbot of Flaye, came over into England preaching the duty of extending the Sabbath from three o’clock p.m. on Saturday to sunrising on Monday morning, pleading the authority of an epistle written by Christ himself, and found on the altar of St. Simon at Golgotha. The shrewd people of Yorkshire treated this fanatic with contempt, and the

¹ Itinerary, vol. vii.

² On the date of construction of this bridge, see Mr. Wilson’s paper, “On Way-side Chapels,” *ante*.

³ *Annals*, Bohn’s edition, translated by H. T. Riley, vol. ii, p. 529.

millers of Wakefield persisted in grinding his corn after the hour of cessation, for which disobedience," says the historian gravely, "his corn was turned into blood, while the millwheel stood immovable against all the water of the Calder; again, in 1452, we find the miller fined for taking too much mulcture."

The privilege of Soke is of remote antiquity, and has at length been bought off by a rate laid on the town. The free grammar school at Wakefield, situated in Goody Bower, was founded by Queen Elizabeth, by letters patent dated 19th of November, in the thirty-fourth year of her reign (1592), at the humble suit of the inhabitants of the town and parish. Sir Henry Savile was the chief agent in procuring the charter, and Mr. George and two of his sons were the principal benefactors. The first notice of any pavement being laid in Wakefield that I can find is in the 4th Edward III, and is in the *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*; we also find patent rolls granted for the paving of it in the 7th and 10th Edward III. In the reign of Henry III we find the name of Wakefield spelt Wakefend in the Court Rolls; and I have in my possession a deed from German Le Mora de Wakefend to John, son of Philip de Alverthorp, of a house with a pool (cum orto) in the town of Wakefend, between the house of Adam Kat and the house of Gregory de Pontefract, to be held of the earl, to pay annually three pence of silver to me and my heirs, and three pence to the earl. Sir Thomas, then steward (that is of the Earl of Warren), is the first witness. We find among the witnesses a Philip the mercer and Henry the mylur (miller). This deed is without date, but may without doubt be referred to the latter part of the reign of Henry III.

Kirkgate Street is now the longest in the town, and I find it first mentioned in 1322, in a grant from Thos. Orscony, of Wakefield, to John Harthill of a burgage there. From the chartulary of Monkbretton Priory, we find that the monks of Bretton were possessed of a teneement called Mason Thyng, granted to them in the reign of Henry VII, Thomas Tickhill being then prior. Some ancient houses, with old carved figures in black oak, probably of the reign of Henry VIII, still remain in this street. The monks of Bretton were also possessed of



tenement in Westgate (now the chief street of the town), called Rodes Thyng, granted in the reign of Edward IV, Rich. Ledes being then prior. I may notice that some of the grants of land in Wakefield to the priory of Bretton in the chartulary, which is yet preserved at Woolley in good preservation, are beautifully written, and the letters beautifully illuminated. The hospitallers of Newland were possessed of a small property in Warren Gate, now called Wren Gate, which was soke free; the hospitallers were invariably free from paying sokeage dues. In the Court Roll of Wakefield of 1326, we find the hospitallers of Newland presented to be distrained upon to answer the lord for a bakehouse; and, in 1335, we find a presentment for carrying the corn growing at Sandal in the lord's copyhold land to land he holds at Newland of the hospitallers there. The preceptory of Newland laid about three miles from Wakefield, and was given to the order by Roger de Peyteirn, lord of the manor of Altofts. The *Bajulia de Newland* has been printed by the Camden Society, and four of the names of the preceptors have been preserved: John de Thame, Sir John de Wyrkelee, Thomas Dokuray, and Sir Thomas Newport. It was valued at the dissolution, 26th Henry VIII, at £129:14:11 $\frac{1}{4}$. The site was granted, 36 Henry VIII, to Francis Jobson, Andrew Dudley and others. In 1311 we find Henry Marmyon fined for stopping the road in North Gate. In North Gate there formerly stood a fine old burghage house called Heselden Hall, which belonged to a family of that name in the reign of Edward III. Thomas de Heselden in that reign was appointed bailiff of the court of Wakefield. In the *Loidis et Elmete* is given a full description of the painted glass in the windows when it was perfect. The house was pulled down about twelve or fourteen years ago. It was by Wren Gate and North Gate that Sir Thomas Fairfax first assaulted the town at the siege in the time of the civil wars, and entered the town. Pindar Fields, which, by tradition, are said to have been the site of Robin Hood's exploit with the valiant Pindar George of the Green, lie at the east end of the town. It is a curious circumstance, that, in the Court Rolls of the manor of Wakefield, of the reign of Edward II, there appears a Robertus Hode living in the town, and having business in

that court. At the court held on Friday next after the feast of St. Cuthbert, in the 9th of Edward son of Edward: "Amabil Brodehegh petit versus Robertum Hode viid. de una dimidia roda terre quam dictus Robertus cedem Amabil demisit ad terminum vi. annorum quam ei non potuit warantizare." I venture to draw attention to the circumstance, that in a parcel of deeds in my possession of Edward III's reign relating to Coldhindley, which is about eight miles from Wakefield, we find a Robert William and Adam Hode mentioned.¹ It will be remembered that Barnsdale Forest, where Robin Hode is said to have lived, lies at no great distance from Coldhindley.

The earliest mention I can find of the Market Cross of Wakefield (*Crucem fori*) occurs in the 6th Henry VI. The Market Cross now standing was built about one hundred and twenty years ago by public subscription, and is a handsome structure, of the Doric order, consisting of an open colonnade supporting a dome; a spiral staircase leads to a spacious room, lighted by a lantern at the top. From the *Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum* we learn that William, sixth Earl of Warren, procured a charter in the 5th King John to hold a fair at Wakefield, and in the 5th Edward III, John, the last earl, also procured one.

When the manor came into the hands of the crown in the time of Edward II, he gave it into the custody of Richard de Mosele; the Earl of Warren was also possessed of the right of villenage, by which, in the 16th Edward III, he granted to William de Sandal of Wakefield. In the 1st Edward I the manor and its tolls were let to John de Amyas for £100 per annum; and in the 4th Edward I the archbishop and prior held court in Wakefield "de valore thelonio pro Johanne Comite Surrey;" and in the sixth of the same reign Elyas de Tyngewch was bailiff of the manor, and held the profits of the forest of Whitlewode. The manor had its full share of suffering in the time of the civil wars, when the town was taken by Sir Thomas Fairfax; and in 1625, and in 1645, we find from the registers that the plague appeared.

SANDAL CASTLE.—This is probably of earlier date than the Conquest. It was, as already stated, demolished by the Earl of Lancaster in 1317, in revenge for the insult

¹ The name of Robin Hood was common in the 13th and 14th centuries.

committed upon his wife Alice de Lacy, but rebuilt by John, Earl of Warren, in 1321. There is an inquisition yet preserved, without date, but taken in the time of the last earl, and, as it seems, with a view to its alienation to the crown, in which the castle is mentioned, which is curious:

“Quod D^{nus} Joh^{es} Comes de Warenne tenet *castrum* de Sandale et totam socam de Wakefield de Domino Rege in capite. Et est ib^m quoddam parcum inclusum in quo quidem xxx aer’ & pastura pro feris quæ valent per an. xvs. Herbagium dicti parei cum fossato dicti castri valent per an. vjs. viij^l. Est ib^m quoddam gardinum cum duabus grangiis quæ valent per an. in herbagio xs. Pastura seperalis de Turnengs valet vjs. Sunt ib^m in campo vj aer’ et j rod’ prati quæ valent communibus annis xxxjs. iij^l. per aer’ vs. Est ibidem vivarium piscium inclusum quod eo quod pisces in eodem moriuntur est nullius valoris. Est ibidem quoddam stagnum molendini quod continet iij acras et dimidiam in aqua, et valet per annum in piscaria xxxs.”

Here are some curious particulars, for, first, it appears there was a fish pond valued at nothing, because all the fish died, probably on account of some mineral impregnations; second, the meadow ground lay in open field, and was worth five shillings per acre, the pasture ground was enclosed, and only worth one-tenth of that sum; lastly, the fishery, a mill pond of four acres, was worth almost one-third more per acre than the best meadow ground. The demesnes belonging to this castle were never of any very great extent. Richard, Duke of York, lay at this castle before the battle of Wakefield; and it seems to have been of some note in the reign of Richard III. John Wodrove, receiver of Wakefield for Edward IV, had a warrant by privy seal, dated 3rd of June, 2nd Richard III, for an allowance of such sums of money as he should employ in making a tower in the castle in Samerhall or Sandal; and also a warrant, dated the same month, granting him a tun of wine yearly for the use of the said castle. 20th of June following, the king being then at York, assigned the manors of Ulverston and Thornham in support of the expenses of his household appointed. 10th of October following orders were given for building a bakehouse and brewhouse within Sandal Castle, by the advice of John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, and others of the king’s council lying therein. This John Wodrove made

his will 6th of October, 1487; the portrait of him and his wife Elizabeth, with his coat of arms (a chevron between three crosses fitchée, *gules*) and his crest (a pelican on a helmet), were formerly in the window of Wakefield old church. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we find that the fees of the captain, porter, gunners, and footmen, in Sandal Castle were as follows :

“The lo’ of Waikfeld and the castle of Sandal. Capitaine fee, 16*d.* p’ die; porter fee, 8*d.* p’ die; guns, 6, fee, 6*d.* p’ die; footemen fee, 6*d.* p’ die.”

It was garrisoned for the king in the time of the civil wars, under Colonel Bonivant, and surrendered after a siege of three weeks, a few days after Pontefract Castle. Boothroyd, the historian of Pontefract, informs us that the governors of Pontefract and Sandal castles were accustomed to light fires on their towers as a signal to each party that good news had been received; and on the 30 of April, 1646, it was resolved by the House of Commons, that, being an inland castle, it should be made untenable, and no garrison kept or maintained in it; and it was completely demolished. The moat of the castle may yet be traced; and I understand the masonry of the central keep, or round tower, is yet visible; and there are several hewn stones, quite fresh and square, lodged at the foot of the tree at the bottom of a broad walk which appears to have crossed the drawbridge. There seems to have been a park at Wakefield and Sandal Castle from very early times. From the inquisition taken in the time of John, the last Earl of Warren, we find :

“Et est ibidem quoddam parcum parvum inclusum in quo quidem xxx ac’ & pastura pro feris quæ valent per annum xvs. Herbagium dieti parci cum fossato dieti castri valent per annum vjs. viij*d.*”

Again, in the 2nd of Edward III, we find :

“Rex confirmavit Simoni de Baldreston unam placeam terre continentem centum et viginti acras de terre in Novo Parco de Wakefeld vocatam Strethagh quas Johannes de Waremma concessit et dedit eidem Simoni et heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreato reddendo inde per annum quadraginta, &c. Et si idem Simon obierit &c. tunc post mortem ipsius Simonis remaneat Willielmo de Skargill et heredibus suis in perpetuum.”

Simon de Baldreston was rector of Badsworth in 1343, and his arms still remain in the window of Badsworth

church. In the 5th Edward IV, Sir John Saville had a grant from the king of the herbage of Wakefield Park. Sir Thomas Wentworth had a grant from Henry VIII of the keepership. In the 1st of Queen Elizabeth, Henry Savill is mentioned as the queen's keeper of it, there being some disputes between him (the plaintiff) and Anthony Wilson, for hunting and destruction of deer there. In the 2nd of Elizabeth also we find Sir John Tempest, steward of the lordship of Wakefield and constable of Sandal Castle, disputing with Henry Savill in the court of Lancaster for the office of keepership of the game in the New Park of Wakefield and Sandal Castle Park, the paling and the office of bow-bearer there. A farmhouse standing on the left hand side of the Calder, looking up the stream, is still called Lodge Gate, and was undoubtedly an entrance to the park, which extended over the neighbouring Park Hills. Another gate also bears the name of Deer Gate.

THE HONOUR AND CASTLE OF PONTEFRACT.

BY THE REV. C. H. HARTSHORNE, M.A.

IN the early period of our history, we find that the crown derived its revenues from various demesnes, escheats, fines, avoidances of church dignities, wardships, and feudal returns. Many other sources of its income might be mentioned, but one of them, arising out of the latter, was an important addition to those payments annually made by the sheriff to the Court of Exchequer. A large sum issued out of the baronies and honours that were in the king's hands, under whatever title they came into his possession. These land-honours and baronies were originally created by enfeoffment, one of our most ancient tenures of land.

If we desire to know at how early a period land honours had an existence in the seigniories of Europe, we must go back to the Longobardic laws, where this title of tenure is recognised. Without showing its high antiquity, it will be more pertinent to the present subject to state, that, like most of our feudal grants, the term

HONOUR was introduced into England by the Conqueror. It is recognised in the charter he granted to the abbot of Romsey, though it does not occur in the Domesday Survey. When a nice distinction is attempted to be drawn betwixt a barony and an honour, the difference appears to be that a barony was limited to one county—it usually descended unsevered; whereas an honour lay scattered, and its lands and manors were frequently granted away. They were both, however, held by the same customs, such as homage and fealty, military service, scutage, wardship, and the other modes in usage at the period.

From the time of Henry I to the last of the Plantagenets, the names of various honours in England occur on the Great Roll of the Pipe. Amongst those most frequently recorded are the honours of Arundel, Bouloigne, Chester, Gloucester, Moreton, Eye, Richmond, Peverel, Lancaster, Totnes, Wermegay, Striguil, De Vesey, etc. There were as many as eighty-six in England. When, however, the barons and magnates no longer derived any jurisdiction or regalities from feudal custom but from parliamentary writs, which mainly obtained their power in the reign of Edward I, or else from royal ordinances, which took their origin in the reign of Richard II, and which differed from a statute, inasmuch as this was a standing and the other merely a temporary law; when the barons no longer derived any advantages of this kind, then their possessions ceased to be called honours. It was not until the reign of Henry VIII that any new ones were created, when this king by an act of parliament erected Hampton Court, Amptuil, and Grafton into this dignity, and abolished their commoner name of manors.¹

The possessor of an honour was, in the first place, bound to perform services in the field; but, if these were not required, he had to pay for the profits of his honour into the Exchequer, on the same terms as the holder of a barony. The conditions of the honour of Berkhamstead show this very clearly. Such being the nature of an honour in general, that of Pontefract in particular will now claim such remarks as I have been able to gather relative to its earlier history.

¹ Tyrrell, iii, p. 653. Spelman, *sub voce*, p. 390.

The first notice of it that occurs is in the Clause Rolls, where there is a writ addressed to William de Harecourt, in the 15th John (1213), desiring him to pay three hundred marks out of the honour of Pontefract, of which he then had custody, to the works of Corfe Castle. By this time its limits must have been sufficiently defined. In the 33rd Henry III (1249) it is again mentioned, so that it may be concluded it had become constituted, like Tickill and Richmond, as one of the great seigniories of the north.

On the death of Edward de Lacy, 42nd Henry III, amongst the estates returned to the crown the castle and honour of Poumfreite are included. There is an extent, which shows what manors the honour then included, but it is needless to enumerate them. It is remarkable that at this early period the better sounding name of Pontefract should have been corrupted into the one now more commonly used. The castle, being the head of the honour, its descent cannot be considered separately; whatever relates to one must, in great measure, be the history of the other.

I have commenced with a description of the distinctive difference betwixt a barony and an honour, but I must now go back to the earliest possessors of this grand fief, which constituted a great portion of their territory.

Ilbert de Lacy must be regarded as the founder of that building, which subsequently became the scene of many of those events which have conferred upon it opprobrious repute in English history. He flourished between 1147 and 1187, a time when huge Norman structures were erected by their owners to overawe their vassals, and to protect themselves from invasion. Judging from the character of the position, and the form of the surrounding earthworks, this fortress was evidently the work of that great earl whose devotion and services had attached him to the Conqueror. We need not dwell on his personal history, further than by stating that Ilbert de Lacy had large grants of land made him by William I, and that, according to the custom of his age, he enriched as well as founded several religious houses. Kirkstall Abbey and St. Oswalds still exhibit in their ruins a testimony of his sa-

ered munificence. The castle he built at Pontefract has, as it were, by the just vengeance of heaven for the guilt it witnessed, passed away, and left but slight architectural vestiges, but the remains of his monastic institutions can yet be observed.

Passing on to his descendants, it is a fact worth noticing that his son Robert built the castle of Clitheroe, whilst his nephew Robert became governor of Château Gaillard. He held it for a year against Philip Augustus, when being compelled to surrender, England speedily lost her possession of Normandy. He died in 1211. One of his descendants, Henry de Lacy, who built the castle of Denbigh in 1292, will be shortly more particularly mentioned.

There can be no doubt that, in consequence of the union betwixt his daughter Alicia and the Earl of Lancaster, many additions were made by the earl to the castle of Pontefract. He erected the castle of Dunstanborough, and the Expense Roll for building it, in the 8th year of Edward II (1315), still exists amongst the archives of the duchy. He also materially repaired at the same time the castle of Kenilworth. These facts show that he was evidently fond of building, and, coupling them with his ownership of the vast possessions he held in Yorkshire, it is reasonable to infer that he greatly increased the Norman building of Ilbert de Lacy. Before, however, entering more fully upon the architectural remains now existing, it will be desirable to examine the early history of this honour and its appendages, though it will, in some measure, interfere with that chronological order which it is most convenient always to maintain. The following notes respecting the descent of the honour and castle of Pontefract will succinctly place before the reader those facts connected with its earlier history that are best worth attention.

Ilbert de Lacy is the first owner of this grand fief of whom we have any account. It is mentioned in the Domesday Survey as Tateshall, or Tanshelf, which now forms part of the present borough. Manesthorpe, Silchester, and Barnebi, in conjunction with Kirkebi, constituted the earl's manor in this part of Yorkshire. On his death it descended to his son Robert, called Robert de

Pontefract by the Norman historian Ordericus Vitalis.¹ This is the earliest notice that has occurred of the name of Pontefract, which seems to have been established in the year 1102. Robert de Pontefract had his manors confirmed by William Rufus, and he completed the foundation of St. Oswald at Nostel, which had been commenced by his father.² The church of St. Oswald is mentioned in the charter of Henry I as being "juxta castellum Pontisfracti, in loco qui dicitur Nostla, super vivarium sita est."³ It is to be gathered from the signatures of the bishops who attested this charter, that the castle of Pontefract was therefore in existence between the years 1121 and 1131, as it is signed by Richard Bishop of Hereford, who ruled the see during this interval.

Robert de Lacy being banished the realm by Henry I, and also his son Ilbert, the honour of Pontefract was conferred on Henry Traverse. He held it but a short time, when the king gave it to Guy de la Val. This person retained it till the reign of Stephen, when Ilbert de Lacy re-obtained possession. On his death his brother Henry succeeded. This Henry de Lacy obtained from the crown a grant of a fair for Pontefract, and gave the inhabitants a charter. In 1147 he amply endowed the abbey of Kirkstall, and was a great benefactor to the Cluniac monks at Pontefract. His son Robert de Lacy succeeded. It is to this member of the family that the erection of Clitheroe Castle is attributed. He was buried in the abbey of Kirkstall, in 1193. Dying without issue, his sister Albreda de Lisours became seised of Pontefract. In 5th Richard I her nephew, Roger de Lacy, entered into an agreement with her, by which he became possessed of all those lands at Pontefract which had belonged to his uncle Robert. In 1204 he was appointed governor of Château Gaillard. He died in 1211, and was succeeded by his son John, who became Earl of Lincoln.⁴ This John de Lacy, dying in 1240, was followed by Edmund de Lacy, who built the house of White Friars, in Pontefract. Henry de Lacy, his son, who succeeded him, in 1258, in

¹ Order. Vital., l. xi, c. i; l. xi, c. 2. In another place he mentions him as Robert Fitz Ilbert (l. x, c. 18).

² Dugd. *Monast.*, vi, p. 92.

³ Charta apud Dugd. *Monast.* Ib.

⁴ Dugd. *Monast.*, v, p. 530.

these great inheritances, built the castle of Denbigh. His son being drowned in a deep well in this castle, the honour of Pontefract devolved upon his daughter Alicia, and by her marriage with Thomas Plantagenet, nephew of Edward I, the vast estates of the De Lacys were transferred to the Earl of Lancaster.

Amongst the documents preserved in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster, is a roll of accounts of the receivers of Henry de Lacy in the 33rd Edward I, from which we gather the following particulars relative to the castle of Pontefract at this particular period. Alan de Smethton and Oliver de Stanfeld, the receivers of the castle, state in their return that they had paid the constable's fee, being £6:13:4 for the year; and 7*3s.* 4*d.* for the fee and clothes of the doorkeeper of the castle and his boy; and 6*s.* 8*d.* for clothes for the watchman for the year; and 66*s.* 8*d.* for the fee of the chaplain celebrating the mass of the Blessed Virgin in the castle; and 2*s.* 3*d.* in lights for the chapel of the castle; and 16*d.* in cultivating and replacing vines; and £10 to Master Henry the mason, master of the works. Then occur various repairs, white-washing the arms of the garrison of the castle, and 29*s.* the expenses of Welsh hostages; the cost of bran and fat for the armour; and the sums paid for the wine within the castle, for the earl's falcons and sparrowhawks, and oat-meal for the dogs.¹

Upon examining the remains of those round towers still visible at Pontefract, it appears that, whilst their foundation may belong to the time of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, all the walling above the set-off is later. The size of the ashlar is longer than their breadth, and different from the courses beneath them, thus evidently proving the upper portion of the towers to have been the work of some later owner. It is not unlikely to have been done by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, who died in 1362. The three sieges the castle of Pontefract underwent in the civil war of the commonwealth, and the work of demolition ordered by the parliament, have contributed to that deplorable state of ruin under which it is now beheld. Originally it must have been a very grand, though never a very extensive, structure. When the subterra-

¹ See this account printed in the Appendix.

near staircases are examined, and the general outline traced, there is, in truth, little more to say about the building. It is difficult to show the real intention of the mysterious passages. A heated imagination would at once mark them as places "with many a foul and midnight murder fed:" but the more practical ideas of those accustomed to examine these singular contrivances, would rather ascribe their intention to a secret means of passing under the fosse, or as the approach to a well. The soft nature of the stone through which these passages are cut rendered the work easy. One of these passages exists to the north, or upper portion of the castle. This passage descends for several feet by steps, in a direct line; at the bottom it terminates in three or four small chambers, hollowed out of the solid rock. Some portion of it is arched over with ashlars, and in one part the peculiar heading, which may be termed Edwardian shouldering, is observable. Looking at these and some minor features in connection with them, the whole work seems to have been done in the reign of Edward II, and most likely by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. These subterranean passages are sufficiently curious in themselves; but when looked at in connection with others of a similar kind existing in Pontefract, they do not appear so remarkable. Two others exist in the town; one of them is a winding staircase, below the street, cut with great care; at the bottom of ninety steps it ends with a well. Close by is a subterranean chantry for a hermit priest; the altar still remains; it scarcely seems large enough for the anchorite to have made it his constant residence, and therefore he must have constantly descended into this crypt to perform his devotions. This latter chamber was discovered whilst making a sewer a few years ago.

The names of several of the towers have been preserved, such as the Round Tower, Clifford Tower, the Treasurer Tower, Gascoigne's Tower, Swillington Tower, the Red Tower, the Queen's Tower, the King's Tower. All these towers have been assigned in old plans of the castle, and their position may be seen in the two histories of the town. The site, however, can now only be traced, as they were taken down in 1649. In an account that has been preserved of this demolition, it appears that £777:4:6

was expended on its destruction, whilst the materials were sold for £1,779:17:4. With the exception of the long flights of steps cut out of the solid rock, there is not any remarkable feature of architectural interest in Pontefract Castle. Originally it was built according to the usual plan of a Norman castle. There was a keep at the western end, and a large bailey below it. The towers, already mentioned, were built at nearly equal distances in the curtain wall of the enclosure. There was a barbican and draw-bridge at the south-west angle, and the whole was encircled by a deep fosse. At the north-east angle there was a chapel, served by five priests, who are returned as prebends, each receiving from fifteen to twenty-six marks annually. This building, which owes its erection to Ilbert de Lacy, still retains a small portion of masonry belonging to his original foundation. It is observable in the western side, below the keep. Several views are in existence, showing the appearance of the castle before it suffered from the siege and subsequent demolition by order of the parliament.

Amongst the records of the Duchy of Lancaster is a roll of household expenses of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, of the 7th and 8th Edward II, rendered at Pontefract, on 22nd of November (1315), by the hands of Henry de Leicester, his receiver. This roll gives a complete insight into the earl's mode of living, and shows that it was on a scale of great magnificence. It will be sufficient to offer merely a short analysis of it in the present memoir, as it may be considered sufficiently illustrative of the domestic life of a great nobleman in the middle ages, to give it more minute examination on some other occasion. The officer charges himself with the receipt of monies, arising from various possessions of the earl, for the expenses of the "*hospitium comitis*," or household expenses, amounting to £6,671:17:11, including £424:12:9, being the arrears of the preceding account. Then comes his discharge of £3,405:1:10 in the expenses of the earl's household, from the morrow of St. Michael, in the 7th Edward II, to the morrow of St. Michael, in the eighth year of the same king's reign, namely, "*inpanetria, botelaria, coquina et marchanera, et omnibus aliis illa officia tangentibus, præter emptiones inferius contentas*," and he claims allowance



for £604:17:6½ expended in 184 casks and one pipe of red wine and one cask of white wine, bought this year for the said household. There was expended £280:17:0 in 6,703 “quartron” and seven pounds of almonds; 3,425 “risorum;” also “in ficibus, racenis, croco, zinzibero, galanga, gariofolo, quybibes, et macis, pipere longo et rotundo, nucibus de muga, pynis, datis, et aliis diversis speciebus emptis pro botelaria et coquina, et pro diversis confectionibus pro camera domini factis hoc anno.” There are also allowances for barrels of sturgeon and stockfish; 1,713 lbs. of wax, with vermilion and turpentine (vermilion & terbintino), bought for making red wax; also the costs of the earl’s horses, table-cloths, towels, etc. The whole of this head of allowance amounts to £5,230:18:7½. Then ensues the livery of cloth, skins, and saddles; “in duobus pannis de scarleto” for the earl at Christmas; one russet cloth, “pro episcopo Agdanensi;” seventy cloths, “de blueto azures.” for the knights. This head of allowance amounts to £1,079:18:3. Then follows the allowance for purchase of horses, fees, gifts, alms, purchase of jewels, and payments of debts, amounting to £1,207:7:11¾. The whole charge of the costs and expenses being £7,518:4:10¼. The gardener being in surplusage £856:6:11¼. From these entries it is abundantly clear that the Earl of Lancaster lived in a most liberal and sumptuous way, spending rather more than less than £100,000 a year according to the present value of money.¹

There have been, as there probably ever will be, great differences of opinion as to the justice of beheading Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. Those who hurried on this bloody deed can scarcely find, in the official document of his arraignment, words sufficiently strong to express his misdemeanours and crimes. On the other side he was supported by a large number of the nobility, some of whom shared the extreme penalty for espousing his cause. The popular voice was also raised in his defence, raised unavailingly, it is true, but yet expressed with all the devout earnestness of those who regarded him as a martyr and a saint. Removed as we are at the present day from the

¹ This is evidently the same account that is printed in Fox’s *History of Pontefract*, though the authority is not there given. (P. 121.)

fear of baronial oppression or royal tyranny, and untouched by the excitement of those transactions which darkened the close of Edward II's unhappy reign, as time leads us further onwards, we are more able to draw dispassionate and just conclusions from what is past. No doubt we have many corresponding disadvantages. The secret springs of human action are deranged by contradiction, or actually unknown. Many important facts are altogether lost. But we have still a notice of the chief events of the time left for our consideration; we may, therefore, estimate their influence with more calmness and impartiality than was possible at the period.

Thus, and by way of illustration, we must recollect that the weakness of the king, his incompetency, his excessive indolence and love of low pleasures, made him unfit for business. His attachment to Gaveston, and his affection for the Despencers, destroyed the natural influence which the barons ought to have infused into his councils. His favouritism rendered him contemptible in the eyes of the people. If the Earl of Lancaster really aspired to the throne, of which, however, there is no proof, these circumstances would have strengthened his cause. No doubt the monarch's imbecility encouraged him to check his misgovernment of the country. In the confederacy he led, the actors were all alike impressed with the necessity that existed for a redress of the national grievances. The earl attempted to convene a meeting at Doncaster for this especial purpose, and he was forbidden to attend it without the king's authority. Similar writs were issued to De Bohun, Earl of Hereford, who had married Edward's sister, as well as to others of the nobility. All this shows that Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was not led by the hope of merely personal aggrandisement. Like Simon de Montfort, in a former reign, he was the leader of a popular cause, and he became the instrument by which reforms were eventually established. The turf upon Blacklow Hill was still verdant from the blood of Gaveston. His death continued to rankle in the heart of Edward. It was unavenged. Though the favorite's end was alike cruel and contrary to the law as then established, few, perhaps none but the king himself, looked upon it as an illegal act. Yet, without question, such was the eagerness for Gaveston's

death, that the formal proceedings of justice were set aside. He had a kind of judicial trial, but the officers of justice authorised by the crown were not summoned to it. He was condemned without the full assent of parliament. These proceedings must always leave a stain upon the Earl of Lancaster's character. Again, he has been accused of deserting the array that went against Scotland, and of holding secret communication with Robert Bruce, who had married his sister. The evidence of this complicity is scarcely strong enough to enlist belief, and therefore, in this respect, he may fairly be entitled to an acquittal.

The earl lived in an age of lax morality, and his enemies have been unsparing in the obloquy with which they have loaded his memory. Upon inquiry into the grounds of their accusations, I have not been able to discover a single fact authorising such charges. On the contrary, the high reputation he obtained immediately after his death, shows them to rest on no sufficient foundation. In throwing discredit upon these vague traditions, we must, however, beware of elevating him into that sacred order of men who were deemed fit for canonization. Queen Isabella certainly believed him to be deserving of this reward, since she sedulously besought the Pope to grant it, pleading, in recommendation, the numberless miracles that were wrought at his tomb, and being fully impressed, as people were in the middle ages, with these supernatural works.

Taking another view of his character, which is of a totally different kind, and one in which remotely we must as Englishmen never cease to feel an interest, he may be regarded as one of the great assertors of public liberty. He both furthered its cause, and perished in its defence. Witness the part he took in framing the ordinances "for the common benefit of the kingdom, and the peace and prosperity of all the people in general." These ordinances, published in 1311, consist of forty-one clauses, and occupied as much as sixty days for their discussion. They contain many grave articles, such as the responsibility of the king's ministers; the assent of the barons in parliament to making war; the power of granting pardon; the alteration of the coinage; and the maintenance of the great charter, besides several other important provisions.

The great principle being kept throughout, that all changes and all authority should come through the barons assembled in parliament. Before the time of their confirmation the king made a secret protest, that, if they contained anything to his prejudice, all such things should be looked upon as not receiving his sanction. The banishment of Gaveston was one clause he thus secretly refused to confirm, a fact which will serve to account for his hatred of the Earl of Lancaster, who was one of the chief personages who thwarted the counsels of the favourite. In the year following (1312) Edward wished the ordinances revised, but the barons refused to treat with the new commissioners on the subject.

All these transactions show that the Earl of Lancaster was a man of noble purposes, naturally averse to arbitrary power, and a lover of liberty in the true and rational sense of its value. He might have imbibed this sentiment from the words uttered on his deathbed by his father-in-law, the Earl of Lincoln, who solemnly adjured him to maintain the independence of the Church from the oppressions of the Court of Rome (as the dying earl had himself done in the parliament held in that city from which he derived his title); he adjured him to free and defend the people from unjust exactions; to devote himself to the honour of God and the Church, and to the liberation of his country, nor fear, said the dying earl, that adversities will come upon you when you fight for the truth. These memorable words might have sunk deep into Lancaster's heart. We know, however, that subsequently they were acted upon.

Attempts were made from time to time to effect a reconciliation between the king and the confederate barons, but they were unavailing. He promised to observe the ordinances, and he assured the nobility of his good will. The legates from Rome tried to effect a reconciliation betwixt them, but everything was in vain. The queen herself mediated, and for a moment, as it were, friendship was renewed. It could not, however, last long, for the king was detected in breaking its conditions. A knight, who had once served the Earl of Lancaster, was taken near Pontefract with a blank charter under the royal seal, directed to the King of Scotland, offering him any conditions he

pleased, provided he could compass the death of his relative. It is repugnant to our natural feeling of honour to speak of treaties, or conventions, of ordinances or of oaths, after this crowning act of perfidy. Yet, even after this discovery, other meetings were arranged, other parliaments summoned, and other discontents temporarily settled. There could not, however, exist any real foundation for a permanent friendship. The Earls of Lancaster and Hereford witnessed with continued and increasing aversion the influence gained over the king by the two Despensers, and they were finally driven to enter into that confederacy which led them to live or die for their destruction. The movement, in the first instance, was made against these two noblemen. A parliament decreed their banishment, and the barons obtained an act of indemnity for what they had been instrumental in passing. Again did Edward receive them into favour, and again did the Earl of Lancaster oppose them. But his fortune was no longer able to sustain him in an unequal conflict. De Bohun fell in the battle at Boroughbridge, and the earl was taken prisoner. A series of articles of impeachment were drawn up. The process was exaggerated and diffuse; the accusation feebly made; and the sentence unjust and wickedly executed.

Are these statements made under a desire to shield the guilty and palliate the crime of treason? The Rolls of Parliament, and the wretched king's subsequent conduct, will show how the earl's accusers endeavoured to repair the wrong they had committed. The self-reproaches of the monarch proved his remorse.

Too late the parliament annulled the sentence—too late they acknowledged the errors they had committed. They did all they could by confessing the illegality of their proceedings; they admitted the error of constituting themselves judges in a case where they had no right to judge. They declared their fault in setting aside that provision of the great charter, which decrees that “no one shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised or outlawed, nor banished, nor sent to prison by the king, excepting by the judgment of his peers and by the law of the land.” The parliament revoked their judgment, and restored to the son the estates and honours of which the father had been

unjustly deprived. It is pitiable to contemplate at this moment the abject state of the king in consequence of the Earl of Lancaster's death. He was keeping his Christmas at York the year following it, when a retainer of his late noble relative was taken and condemned to die. One of those about the court, knowing he had formerly occupied a similar place to his own, being touched with compassion at his fate, offered to speak on his behalf to the monarch. He had, however, no sooner begun to implore for his life, than Edward broke into a violent passion, and exclaimed, "Begone! wicked and malicious detractors! you can plead for this worthless fellow, but none of you would so much as open your mouths in behalf of my cousin of Lancaster, who, if he had lived, might have been useful both to myself and to the whole kingdom." Whilst this incident proves that Edward II was not naturally cruel, it also shows that he repented of the crime he had been urged by his advisers to commit.

Thus, like some tender plant transported from a warmer clime, did the pure spirit of Lancaster struggle against the storms which the favoured minions of the court had aroused; and, as this faintly rears its head after it has once been taken from its natural soil, drooping, unconscious of any fostering hand to shield it from the chilling blast, and fading till it verges upon decay, so did his noble heart vainly contend against the rude shocks of tyranny, till he was compelled to succumb to his fate. Those were the early days of English liberty. The seed was, indeed, sown, but the plant scarcely reached maturity. The efforts were not, however, fruitless, for more genial seasons have since favoured its growth, and other ardent lovers of our common country have succeeded in raising that plant which the Earl of Lancaster watered, and made, as it were, sacred by his blood.

After this fearful tragedy, it might be supposed that the walls of Pontefract could never again become so deeply stained by crime; but we are detained by the recital of other deeds less unprovoked, and perhaps more atrocious. It was on the 23rd of October, 1399, that Arundell, Archbishop of Canterbury, acting on the behalf of Henry of Lancaster, took the first steps for deposing King Richard II. He began by charging the lords spiritual and tem-

poral to keep his propositions regarding his dethronement a profound secret; and this nefarious preliminary of the king's disinherittance might have been directly carried, had not Percy, Earl of Northumberland, put some questions to the assembled parliament, which, interfering with the projected plan, caused it to be deferred a little longer. When the unhappy monarch tendered his resignation of the crown, he made a speech to the parliament which shows that, if he had failed to discharge them with ability, he was nevertheless fully conscious of the duties a sovereign owes to his people. He declared that he would rather that "the commonwealth should rise by his fall, than that he should stand upon its ruins." So that, whatever his private faults may have been, it can never be truly laid to his charge that he oppressed his subjects.

In the deed that was drawn up for his resignation, there is much false reasoning and sophistry, many strong expressions and gross misrepresentations of his conduct. All of these served for charging him with misgovernment of the kingdom, and consequently furnished an excuse for hastening on measures for his deposition. We must come to the sequel, since it is impossible to pass all the occurrences in review. To attempt more than this would not only be undertaking a very extensive history, but one relating to a period when we have most scanty materials for the purpose.

At the parliament already mentioned, which held its sitting in October, it was decreed that the king should be perpetually imprisoned; that a place should be selected that would be unfrequented by any concourse of people; that none of his friends should be admitted to visit him; and that he should be under secret and unknown restraint. The dungeons of "London's lasting shame" were deemed too cheerful for the captive monarch. Even the cold fortress of Flint, where he was seized by the usurper, was too comfortable a place for his wasting life. The council decreed he should slowly pine away, and miserably perish in the castle of Pontefract.

The accounts that have descended to us of Richard's death are vague and conflicting.¹ It is, perhaps, now

¹ It is manifestly impossible to re-enter here upon the large mass of contradictory evidence that has exercised the ingenuity of so many of our historical

hopeless to expect that we shall gain any fresh information. In its absence, we must carefully examine such as has been handed down. Under the deficiency of any circumstantial narrative of the king's last few days, we must accept for our guidance the statement of those persons who took a leading part in the transactions of the time. If they are men of prudence and unbiassed by motives of personal ambition, we may, without misgivings, regard the opinions they formed about passing events as proper to regulate our own. Thus it has been stated by some that Richard was brutally murdered by Sir Piers of Exton, and the details of the scene have been so often copied by one writer after another, that this story has gained almost general belief. On the other hand, we have the credible testimony of Archbishop Scroop, an eyewitness of what was passing in public affairs. From his elevated position he must have been cognisant of what measures were adopted; whilst, living at no great distance from Pontefract, he must have become acquainted with what was actually going on. By way of palliating the mode of the king's death, it has been stated that it was his voluntary act. But there is no reason to dispute the archbishop's statement, who positively declares that Richard lingered for a space of fifteen days, and died under starvation. He perished, says this prelate, by hunger, thirst, and cold; he died the basest death any one in England had ever undergone. Doubtless, if divine vengeance would follow this holy man's excommunication, those who instigated this merciless act would not escape a just reward for their guilt.

The attention must naturally become wearied by the recital of these deeds of cruelty, and it is difficult to retain it. Yet again we are compelled to listen, and to shudder as we listen, to other tragic acts that stained the walls of Pontefract with blood.

The next noble victim who suffered a violent death within the castle was Anthony Woodville, the gallant Earl of Rivers. He was the most accomplished person of the age, himself an author, and the liberal patron of that illustrious artisan

inquirers concerning the death of Richard II. The question is full of difficulty, as may be seen upon perusing the various statements adduced in the *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart deux Roy D'engleterre*, published by the Historical Society (8vo, 1846).

who first practised the art of printing in England. No ostensible reason has been assigned for his execution, and it was the more unjust because the Protector, afterwards Richard III, hurried Lord Rivers his uncle, and his half brother Sir Richard Grey, with Sir Thomas Vaughan, to the scaffold without the usual form of a trial.

In reviewing the three great tragedies that we have witnessed at Pontefract, we must have been struck with the immunity under which these flagrant acts of barbarity and injustice were perpetrated. Even the person of the sovereign was as little respected as that of the nobility. The principles of sound government were in their infancy. The obedience due to monarchical power was little regarded, or indeed understood; whilst the nobility, on their part, coerced, as they had the opportunity, the sovereign and their vassals alike. There was no real security for property or life. The exigencies of the crown excited it to violence, and the fear of opposition from the barons first led the Plantagenets to appeal to the people in their own defence. Thus, step by step, our constitution became formed out of the pressure of circumstances.

Authority gradually became vested in the king by the assent of parliament. Edward III defined in one of his statutes the crime of treason, and regulated the infliction of punishment. This was something gained for the cause of justice, though, as we have already seen, its enactments were often defeated. In short, if we look to the rise and progress of our present liberties, we shall perceive everything continually changing; some faction always uppermost, misusing its power, and destroying what had previously been settled. We shall perceive the government weak and insecure; few political axioms of value adopted as the standard of public freedom. By a free discussion of abuses, the Commons began to establish a legitimate influence in the councils of the realm, and to this cause, more than to any regal enactment, feudal concessions, or than by the violence of popular commotion, may be attributed our present advancement. All the civil privileges we enjoy are of spontaneous growth. They are neither the effects of anarchy nor of special legislation. It has been the work of ages to build up all that is so venerable, so wise, so practical, and so just, in that system of government which we

call our English constitution. It is based upon the union of three great elements, which alternately direct, moderate, and control each other, and so long as a true equipoise exists between these three estates of the realm, we shall, under the divine auspices, retain that amount of rational liberty which as it constitutes our glory, so is it the envy of other nations. But when once a constitutional monarchy is weakened in the affections of a people and overthrown by violence; when once the supreme judicature and dignity of the peerage is reduced within narrower limits and dishonoured; or when the popular voice, which represents its grievances, receives no sympathy or redress; when once one or other of these powers is overbalanced by the rest, our national safety is endangered, and we shall fall amid confusion and bloodshed; we shall be cast under a tyranny more hateful than that which condemned the innocent victims at Pontefract to the scaffold. Those wretched acts may be renewed, fresh sacrifices eagerly demanded, to appease the leaders of rebellion and anarchy, and the prosperity of our country, no less than the domestic happiness of our homes, be swept away in one common ruin.

APPENDIX A.

A similar account, 23 and 24 Edw. I.

“Pontefractum. Summa summar’ tocius recepte, £1601 3s. 2*l*.

“De quib’ computat *vj**l*. *xiijs*. *iiij**l*. in feodo constabularij p’ ann’. Et *ls*. in robis eiusdem. Et *ijs*. *iiij**l*. in luminar’ capelle castri p’ ann’. Et *vs*. et *ij**l*. in rota putei emendand’, hostiis, serruris, et aliis minutis infra castrum emendand’. Et *ijs*. *viiij**l*. in busca prosternenda p’ castro. Et *xxiiij**l*. *xxvs*. *vij**l*. in expensis Wallensium obsidum p’ ann’ præter focalia. Et *viiij**l*. *iiij**l*. ob. in vadiis valectorum existent’ i’warnestur’ castri p’ obsidibus Wallensibus per litteram comit’. Et *xl*. *xijs*. *ij**l*. datis *vij* paup’ib’ p’ ann’ videl’t p’ 365 diebus cuil’bet in die *j**l*. per litteras patentes comit’ et sic de anno in anno quousq’ constabularius sup’ hiis aliud habeat in mandatis. Et *ljs*. *iiij**l*. ob. in domib’ infra castrum cooperiendis et emendandis. Et *xvj**l*. vineis colendis et reparandis.”

APPENDIX B.

*Roll of Receiver's Accounts of the Possessions of Henry de Lacy,
Earl of Lincoln. 32, 33, Edw. I.*

"Pontefr'. Alanus de Smethton senior et Oliverus de Stanffeld receptor' castri Pontefracti reddunt compotum suum apud Pontefractum quarto die Januarii anno R. R. E. xxxij^o coram D'no W. de Nouy et M. de Silkeston, videl't ab in crastino S'c'i Mich'is anno R. R. E. xxxij^o usq' in crastinum S'c'i Mich'is anno R. R. E. xxxij^o.

"De custodia terre et heredis Rob'ti filii Steph'i de Stelbrok, n'l quid comes dedit matri sue una cum p'ceptis et maritaggio eiusdem heredis.

"De quib' computi vjl. xiijs. iiij*l.* in feodo constabularii p' ann'. Et ls. in robis eiusdem. Et lxxijs. iiij*l.* in feodo et roba janitoris castri et garcionis sui p' ann'. Et vjs. viij*l.* in roba vigilis p' ann'. Et x*l.* in feodo et nobis Alani de Smetheton senioris p' ann'. Et xls. in feodo servientium liberae curiae p' ann'. Et lxxvjs. viij*l.* in feodo capellani celebrantis missam de beata virgine in castro p' ann'. Et ijs. iiij*l.* in luminare capelle castri p' ann'. Et iijs. solut' monasterio b'i Joh'is p' luminare capella' S'c'i Nich'i et S'c'e Elene. In cereo pascale, nil hoc anno quia de cera com'. Et xvjd. in vineis colend' et rep'and'. Et x*l.* in feodo Mag'ri Henr' Cementar' mag'ri op'is p' ann'.

"Et xxxijs. vij*l.* ob' in domub' inf'a cast'm coop'ient' et emendand' cum bord' et clau' empt' et cendul' fac' p' eisd' et cu' emendac'o'e pontis. Et xviiij*l.* xviijs. in vij carratis et de xxxvj peciis plumbi p' majus carratu' empt'. Et xs. in d'co plumbo cariad' de Bradeford' usq' pont'. Et xxijs. jd. in stipend' uni' plumbator' fundant' dom' plumbum et coop'ient' wardrobam com' et medietate' magne camere cu' clavis et stagno empt'. Et vijs. iiij*l.* ob. in ollis eneis et utensilib' ligneis castri emendand'. Et vs. ij*l.* in busca p'st'nenda p' castro. Et lxs. in xl q'z sal' empt' p' warnestura castri. Et xxjs. viij*l.* in d'co sale cariendo de Waynfleet usq' Beghale p' aquam et inde usq' pont' p' t'ram.

"Et ijs. ij*l.* in armaturis warnesture castri dealbandis. Et xxixs. in expensis Tudor ap Carewath Wallensis obsidis per vij septimanas et Yor Du Wallensis obsides per xij septimanas et vadiis ij garconum custodiensium eosd' p' vij septimanas. Et xxijs. in una roba cum furura e'p' et dati dicto Tudero p'cepto comitis. Et vjs. v*l.* datis Yor Du Wallensi, p'cepto comitis. Et x*l.* xijs. iiij*l.* in sustentatione vij pauperum p' ann', cuilibet in die unu' denar', per litteras comitis patentes, et sic de anno in annu' quousq' comes aliud inde p'cepit. Et xxvs. viij*l.* in vestura et calciatura eo'dem p' ann'. Et xx*l.* in oblationibus die anniuersarii Edmundi de Lasci.

"Idem computant lxs. viij*l.* in vadiis Joh'is de fferro custodis armaturæ comitis p' ann'. Et xvij*l.* ob. q'a in furfure et pinguedine empt' pro eisdem. Et xxvjs. iij*l.* q'a in mutis factis inf'a east' p' falconibus et espervaris comitis. Et xxijs. x*l.* in vadiis Got' de Catherton custodis flaleon' et espervar' com' p' xxvij sept'as. Et lxs. in carne recente, aucis, gallis, et columbell' p' ij osteriis vij falconibus et ij esp'ver' com' p' idem temp'. Et xiijs. iij*l.* in vj q'a d'e'i aveue empt' p' sustentac'o'e catulo' comitis inf'a east'm. Et xxxixs. ob. in exp'ns' Will'i de Catherton, Petri Falconar', Rob'ti de Catherton, Will'i Bene apud Pont' p' diu'sas vices."

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ.

IN 1861 I had the honour to lay before the Association some remarks upon the cathedral and other buildings of Chichester. I then called attention to the prevalent opinion, supported by the authority of the historians Hay and Dallaway, that the north-west tower of the cathedral had been battered down in 1642 by Sir William Waller, the parliamentary general. I endeavoured to show that the destruction of the tower could not have taken place at that time, and produced arguments, which I conceived were conclusive, against attributing its ruin to the rebel forces. I found nevertheless, that, if we accepted the evidence of King's view, we might believe that the tower was seen in ruins a very few years after, and that there was no doubt of its being in that condition early in the next century, but the exact period at which the ruin took place I was forced to leave in doubt. This point I am now able to clear up, and it strikes me that it possesses so much importance, that the Association will think the solution of it a proper addition to their records.

The Rev. C. A. Swainson, canon of Chichester, has most obligingly placed in my hands the following particulars. Amongst the archives in the cathedral chapter room is a paper in the handwriting of Dr. Thomas Hayley, who was prebendary of Heathfield 1704, canon residentiary 1712, and dean 1755. The paper is entitled, "Copy of a paper written with Dr. Eede's hand, dated August 14, 1684, in



the chapter room under the leases." The copy is as follows: "An account of Sir Christopher Wren's opinion concerning the rebuilding of one of the great towers at the west end of the cathedral church of Chichester (one-third part of which from top to bottom fell down about fifty years since), which he gave after he had for about two hours viewed it both without and within, and above and below, and had also observed the great want of repairs, especially in the inside of the great west tower, and having well surveyed the whole west end of the said church; which was in substance as follows: that there could be no secure building to the remaining part of the tower now standing; that if there could, and it were so built, there would be little uniformity between that and the other, they never having been alike, nor were they both built together, or with the church. And when both were standing, the west end could never look very handsome; and therefore, considering the vast charge of rebuilding the fallen tower and repairing the other, he thought the best way was to pull down both together, and the west end of the nave of the church between both, and to lengthen the two northern aisles to answer exactly to the two southern, and then to close all with a well-designed and fair built west end and porch, which would make the west end of the church look much more handsome than ever it did, and would be done with half the charge."

The date of this report, 1684, is in the same year in which Wren was constituted, by letters patent under the great seal, comptroller and principal officer of the works in the castle of Windsor, and in which his increasing professional occupations obliged him to relinquish the chair of the Royal Society.

The report shows that the tower fell about fifty years before, *i.e.*, about A.D. 1634, which is earlier than I had supposed, but which satisfactorily demonstrates that the parliamentary forces have been wrongly blamed for its loss. We also learn that a greater share of calamity has befallen this cathedral than the others which have been signalised by accidental destruction: Winchester, Ely, Gloucester, Worcester, and Norwich have each suffered by the fall of a tower; but Chichester has twice undergone this loss and peril. Great as have been these casual cala-

mitics, we see, however, that it has escaped another, which the great architect of the seventeenth century would deliberately have inflicted upon it. Wren actually proposed not only to clear away the ruins of the fallen north west tower, but to pull down the corresponding one on south west, and to shorten the nave by one arch, *i.e.*, so much of it as lay between the towers, which would also have sacrificed a fine piece of early pointed work in the western porch. To compensate for the loss of the western towers, and about twenty feet in length of the nave, we were to be furnished with a "fair built west end," of his own design, in executing which he intended to harmonise the north and south aisles at their ends, or, in other words, to get rid of the beautiful north porch. It is most satisfactory to think that the dean and chapter practised greater economy than their famous architect advised, and let it alone altogether; hence we are still able to look upon the south west tower, though condemned one hundred and eighty years ago.

Another piece of information, also of some interest, we gather from Wren's report, *viz.*, that the two western towers were not of similar design. About sixteen years ago, one of the foremost ecclesiastical architects made a design for the restoration of the north west tower, intending it simply to correspond with the south west. The project was not proceeded with for want of funds; but I know that amongst the authorities it was also felt that the design was on a too monotonous principle. The testimony of Wren's report proves that the objectors on the score of monotony, had also the warrant of antiquity on their side.

The archives of Chichester Cathedral possess a great deal of information of much value and authority to the archæologist, but of which very little is known. Chichester Cathedral in its capacity as an ecclesiastical corporation, represented the most ancient form of diocesan government. Originally founded at Selsey, by the celebrated St. Wilfrid of York, and subsequently removed to Chichester, it seems from the first, and without any doubt from its first location at Chichester, to have been a society of secular canons. In the chapter house of the cathedral are still preserved the constitutions and statutes which have regulated the

functions of the various members of the cathedral from a very early period. As far back as 1192, the bishop assigned to the canons separate houses; and parts of two of the houses of that date, or immediately after, are still perfectly distinguishable in the present canons' residences. The statutes for the regulation of the canons and superior dignitaries, made in 1247, are still in existence, with materials for the complete history of all the changes in their numbers, in their mode of living and duties, which have occurred to the present day. The vicars choral, or minor canons, have an equally well preserved history, showing their position, first, as a numerous body, the appointees and substitutes in the choir of the non-resident canons; then their incorporation as a subordinate body, with independent rights, in 1334; the construction of complete dwellings and an establishment for them at the end of that century; their gradual disuse of part of those buildings; their reduction from thirty-six to four in number; and their present tenure of so much as now remains of their ancient buildings. Though I scarcely alluded to them on the former occasion, one part of these buildings is particularly interesting, from its very perfect condition, and the complete authority which exists for its identification. It is the common hall, or refectory of the vicars' choral, and is described under its ancient denomination in the lease by which it is now held and used for a school house. It forms a part of the eastern continuation or wing, which extends from the south side of the cloister. It is raised upon a vaulted substructure, and forms an apartment thirty-five feet long and twenty-one feet wide; though one end having been taken out, it has received a modern extension perfectly distinct and discernible at the west end. The hall was originally on the north side of a small cloister court, around which stood the dwellings (part of them still stand) of the vicars choral. Two flights of stairs ascended from the cloister, uniting in one landing at a door which opened in the south side of the hall, close to its west end. Immediately opposite this door, fixed in the north wall, is a large stone water tray, sink, or lavatory, of handsome workmanship. The hall is lighted by two windows on the east side, and between those on the south side is projected outwards a space which opens to

the room, so as to form a pulpit. In this recess, it is also known, were kept the statutes of the vicars choral, in a chest. The original timber roof remains,—a simple but good specimen of the era to which it belongs. The architecture is of the end of the fourteenth century, and therefore agrees with the date 1394, when a tenement, with all its appurtenances, called the Gyldenhall, was granted to the vicars' choral for mansions, habitations, and gardens. This reference to the Gyldenhall constitutes another point of interest, and one requiring some more elucidation than I am yet able to give. I alluded formerly to the difficulty of determining the site of the destroyed church of St. Peter juxta Guildhall, which commences with the uncertainty as to the exact site of the Gyldenhall itself. That it was almost on the same site as the vicars' hall is pretty clear; and, on looking lately at the substructure of the vicars' hall, I am strongly inclined to believe that a part of the Gyldenhall is still to be found there. The main part of the substructure is not older than the vicars' hall, but one bay at the eastern end belongs to a much earlier age, and with two other bays equally early, which extend outside and beyond the vicars' hall, it forms a vaulted building of three bays in length, divided by columns into two avenues, with an entrance door at each end, and three small windows on each side. The whole of this portion is of the end of the twelfth century, and there is much probability that it is the substructure of the Guildhall. Its east end abuts upon the South Street of the city.

I was lately indulging the belief that some part of the church of St. Peter juxta Guildhall had been discovered. About two years ago, a house was rebuilt in the South Street, directly opposite what I have just been speaking of. It was then found that a large part of the house consisted of very massive walls, of great antiquity, but when exposed it was clearly perceived that they belonged not to a church but to a secular building, of at least three stories in height. The date of these walls is the same as of the supposed Guildhall, viz., the end of the twelfth century, and it appears very much as if that building must have extended quite across the street, so as to have been connected with these walls.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to express the desire, in which I am sure I shall find numerous supporters, that so valuable a mass of information as exists among the cathedral archives, may be placed in a well-ordered and accessible condition. The precentor, the Rev. Mackenzie Walcott, has lately made some valuable communications to the *Gentleman's Magazine* as to the contents of some of the papers in the chapter room. What we thus know increases the appetite for a better acquaintance with them.

Proceedings of the Association.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

MAY 11.

NATHANIEL GOULD, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE Auditors presented the following report and balance-sheet of the Treasurer's accounts for the year 1863:—

“We, the Auditors of the accounts of the British Archæological Association for the year 1863, having duly examined the same and inspected the vouchers, have to report that the receipts have amounted to the sum of £545:6:3, and the disbursements to £478:0:7, leaving a balance of £67:5:8 in favour of the Association. In accordance with the practice uniformly sustained by the Treasurer, there remains not a single outstanding account against the Association—all demands for the year are discharged, including not only the Quarterly Journals for the year, but also an additional part of the *Collectanea Archæologica*, upon which several subscriptions are due to the Association. The accumulation of papers has rendered another part of this work essential, and it will be speedily submitted to the subscribers. Considering the value of this publication and its importance to the character of the Association, it were to be desired that the subscribers to it should be still further increased; and those Associates who have not yet contributed to the success of the work, need, we are assured, only to be reminded of the circumstance to induce them to avail themselves of the advantage offered to them in the attainment of it at a very reduced price to that of its publication.

During the past year there have been admitted fifty-six new associates, and thirty have withdrawn,—an unusually large number, but one which it appears has occurred to almost every other Institution during the same period. By death, also, the Association has been deprived of ten associates, some of whom had been in the Society from an early period. The Council have also submitted to us the names of ten associates to be referred to the Annual General Meeting to be erased from



the list for non-payment of their subscriptions, a measure although painful in its nature we conceive to be absolutely essential to the well being and healthy condition of the Association.

The late Congress, held under the able Presidency of Lord Houghton at Leeds, has been a prosperous one to the Association, and a judicious measure has, in our opinion, been adopted by conferring on all donors on the occasion of a certain amount, the privilege of Membership for a given period. This proposal has been very satisfactorily received, and has added to the ranks of the Association several names of renown in the departments of literature, art, and science.

Viewing the steady progress of the Association and the high character it has attained by an undeviating attention to the objects for which it was instituted, we cannot withhold the expression of our opinion that this is in a great measure to be attributed to the uniform zeal and ability with which its affairs have been conducted by the Treasurer, who, although lately suffering severely from illness, has yet never failed to exert himself for its prosperity. We trust that his improved health will enable him to be present at the next Congress at Ipswich, for which preparations are now being actively made, and which promises, under the Presidency of George Tomline, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., to be attended with equal success to that of the past year.

T. W. DAVIES, }
JOSEPH VINES GIBBS, } *Auditors.*

May 9th, 1864.

Associates elected 1863 :

T. S. Noble, Esq., for Yorkshire Philosophical Society
James Milligan, jun., Esq., 6, North John-street, Liverpool
Arthur Cope, Esq., 58, Euston-square
Wm. Henry Cope, Esq., 26, Gloucester-crescent, Regent's Park
J. T. Irvine, Esq., Spring Gardens
E. S. Chandos Pole, Esq., Radburne Hall near Derby
Chairman of the Library Committee of the Corporation of London
J. H. Challis, Esq., 35, St. James's-place
James Farrer, Esq., M.P., Ingleborough, Lancaster
Rev. Thos. Barclay, D.D., Principal of the University of Glasgow
Sir Henry Halford, Bart., Wistow Hall, Leicester
John Whitehead Walton, Esq., 21B, Savile-row
Robert Bryce Hay, Esq., Spelthorne Grove, Sunbury, Middlesex
William Holgate, Esq., Penton House, Staines
Thomas Dod Keighley, Esq., 9, Holland Villas-road, Kensington
J. B. Greenshields, Esq., Kerse, Lesmahago, Lanark
Douglas P. Hindley, Esq., Loughton, Essex
Richard Wood, Esq., Clarksville, Lower Crumpsall, Manchester
Wm. Edw. Forster, Esq., M.P., Burley, near Otley
Miss Ellen Heaton, 6, Woodhouse-square, Leeds
Andrew Fairbairn, Esq., M.A., Woodsley House, Leeds
Wm. Beckett Denison, Esq., Burley, Leeds
Titus Salt, Esq., Methley Park, Leeds

T. Spencer Stanhope, Esq., Cannon Hall near Barnsley
 Right Hon. the Earl De Grey and Ripon, 1, Carlton-gardens
 The Earl of Harewood, Hanover-square
 James Garth Marshall, Esq., M.A., Headingley
 John Metcalfe Smith, Esq., Springfield House, Leeds
 Sir Francis Crossley, Bart., M.P., Halifax
 S. S. Jackson, Esq., Brunswick-place, Leeds
 Arthur Marshall, Esq., Headingley
 John Darnton Luccock, Esq., North-street, Leeds
 Lord Londesborough, Grimston Park, Tadcaster
 George S. Beecroft, Esq., M.P., Kirkstall
 John Smith, Esq., Burley House, Leeds
 T. W. Stansfeld, Esq., Adel near Leeds
 Edwin Eddison, Esq., Headingley
 John Rhodes, Esq., Potternewton House, Leeds
 James D. Holdforth, Esq., Caley Hall, Leeds
 Edward Baines, Esq., M.P., Headingley
 Samuel Lawson, Esq., Kirkstall
 Richard Horsfall, Esq., Waterhouse-street, Halifax
 John Crossley, Esq., Halifax
 Arthur Sherlock Lawson, Esq., Aldborough
 Rev. W. G. Henderson, D.D., Grammar School, Leeds
 Frederick R. Wilson, Esq., Bondgate, Alnwick
 Arthur Sykes, Esq., The Manor, Adle
 Samuel Holdsworth, M.D., Wakefield
 F. A. Leyland, Esq., Halifax
 T. Reseigh, Esq., 4, Lombard-street
 John Bellas Rogers, Esq., Barnes Villa, Barnes
 S. Wayland Kershaw, Esq., B.A., 9, Park-terrace, Brixton
 Clifford W. Chaplin, Esq., Oxford and Cambridge Club
 His Grace the Lord Archbishop of York, D.D., Bishopsthorpe
 Capt. George Lane, 42, Montpelier-square, Brompton
 Samuel Waterhouse, Esq., M.P., Hope Hall, Halifax.

Associates Withdrawn :

Wm. C. Whelan, Esq.	Thomas Hodgkin, M.D.
Edw. P'Anson, Esq.	Capt. Dumergue
Earl of Scarborough	George Gouldsmith, Esq.
Rev. Edw. Egremont, M.A.	William Meyrick, Esq.
Edward Studd, Esq.	Rev. J. Gunn, M.A.
Arthur Bass, Esq.	David Tweedie, Esq.
Sir Henry Stracey, Bart., M.P.	J. H. Belfrage, Esq.
Daniel Littler, Esq.	T. R. Kemp, Esq.
W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A.	H. S. Mitchell, Esq.
John Northmore, Esq.	F. G. West, Esq.
H. N. Scaife, Esq., R.N.	William Enderby, Esq.
Reginald Scaife, Esq.	F. H. Taylor, Esq.
R. F. Graham, Esq.	John Stuart, Esq.
John Scott, Esq.	Henry Keens, Esq.
Charles Pridham, M.D.	James Ellis, Esq.

Associates Deceased :

E. S. Chandos Pole, Esq.	Robert Hutchinson, Esq.
William Jones, M.D.	B. Botfield, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Edw. W. Smythe Owen, Esq.	Joseph Gwilt, Esq., F.S.A.
Mrs. Agnes Steuart Macnaghten	George R. Corner, Esq., F.S.A.
Charles Ainslie, Esq.	William Salt, Esq., F.S.A.

RECEIPTS.

1863.	£	s.	d.
Balance due to the Association at the audit of 1862	55	8	9
Annual and life subscriptions, inclusive of associates by donation at Congress	344	13	0
Net balance of Leeds Congress	63	12	6
Sale of publications	81	12	0
	<u>£545</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>

Balance brought forward . . . £67 5 8

T. W. DAVIES }
JOSEPH VINES GIBBS } Auditors.

May 9, 1864.

PAYMENTS.

1863.	£	s.	d.
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	194	6	0
Illustrations to the same	60	6	9
Printing and publishing <i>Collectanea Archaeologica</i> , Part I, vol. ii	80	19	0
Illustrations to the same	40	12	10
Binding of <i>Journal</i> for 1863	5	12	0
Stiff covers for <i>Collectanea</i>	3	19	0
Miscellaneous printing	11	9	0
Rent of Rooms for public meetings	13	13	0
Delivery of the <i>Journal</i> for 1863	20	0	0
Ditto of the <i>Collectanea</i>	5	0	0
Postage, advertisements, and notices	26	5	0
Petty expenses, carriage of antiquities, and gratuities to servants	13	0	0
Stationery	2	18	0
Balance in favour of the Association	67	5	8
	<u>£545</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>

T. W. DAVIES }
JOSEPH VINES GIBBS } Auditors.

May 9, 1864.

Members erased for Non-Payment of their Subscriptions :

Edward Clarke, Esq., Chard, Devon	4 years due
Capt. Philip H. Crampton, Shrewsbury	4 ditto
Francis Goderich, jun., Esq., Sidney-place	4 ditto
Henry Gray, Esq., Holly Lodge, Wandsworth	4 ditto
Edward Greenall, Esq., Grappen Hall, Warrington	4 ditto
J. James, Esq., F.S.A., Halton Cottage, Wendover	5 ditto
J. S. Scott, Esq., 46, Kensington Park Gardens	4 ditto
A. B. Trevenen, Esq., 8, Danes Inn, Strand	4 ditto
Harrington Tuke, M.D., Manor House, Chiswick	5 ditto
Henry Randal Wotton, Esq., Cavendish-square	4 ditto

Donations.

The Right Hon. the Earl De Grey and Ripon	£10	0	0
The Lord Lonsborough	10	0	0
The Earl of Harewood	5	0	0
Andrew Fairbairn, Esq., M.A.	5	0	0
J. Garth Marshall, Esq., M.A.	5	0	0
James Farrer, Esq., M.P.	5	0	0
William Aldam, Esq.	5	0	0
Sir Francis Crossley, Bart., M.P.	5	0	0
Arthur Marshall, Esq.	5	0	0
George S. Beecroft, Esq., M.P.	3	3	0
Edward Baines, Esq., M.P.	3	0	0
W. Beckett Denison, Esq.	2	2	0
Titus Salt, Esq.	2	2	0
J. M. Smith, Esq.	2	2	0
J. Smith, Esq.	2	2	0
S. S. Jackson, Esq.	2	2	0
J. D. Luccock, Esq.	2	2	0
T. W. Stansfeld, Esq.	2	2	0
Edwin Eddison, Esq.	2	2	0
John Rhodes, Esq.	2	2	0
J. D. Holdforth, Esq.	2	2	0
T. P. Teale, Esq., F.R.S.	2	2	0
J. Spencer Stanhope, Esq.	2	0	0
Samuel Lawson, Esq.	2	0	0
John Crossley, Esq.	1	1	0
Rev. Robert Cornthwaite	1	1	0
George Wentworth, Esq.	1	1	0
P. O'Callaghan, Esq.	1	1	0
Dr. Heaton	1	1	0
Thos. Nunneley, Esq.	1	1	0
W. S. Ward, Esq.	1	1	0

£95 12 0

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the Auditors.

Also to the President, Vice-Presidents, Officers, and Council, of the past year; and specially to the Treasurer for his undeviating and most valuable aid to the Association.

A ballot was taken for Officers and Council for the ensuing year, 1864-5, and the following duly elected :

PRESIDENT.

GEORGE TOMLINE, M.P., F.S.A.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

SIR CHAS. ROUSE BUGHTON, BART.

JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S.

GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.

NATHANIEL GOULD, F.S.A.

JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.

GEORGE VERE IRVING, F.S.A. *Scot.*

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.

TREASURER.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

SECRETARIES.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Rouge Croix.*

H. SYER CUMING.

EDWARD ROBERTS, F.S.A.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence

T. WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Palæographer.

CLARENCE HOPPER.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Draftsman.

HENRY CLARKE PIDGEON.

COUNCIL.

GEO. G. ADAMS

GEORGE ADE

THOMAS BLASHILL

W. D. HAGGARD, F.S.A.

J. O. HALLIWELL, F.R.S., F.S.A.

GORDON M. HILLS

LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L.

THOMAS W. KING, F.S.A., *York*

Herald

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

EDWARD LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.

WM. CALDER MARSHALL, R.A.

THOMAS PAGE, C.E.

RD. N. PHILIPPS, F.S.A.

J. W. PREVITÉ

S. R. SOLLY, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

J. W. WALTON

C. F. WHITING

AUDITORS.

ROBERT HANNAH.

WILLIAM YEWD.

The obituary notices of members deceased during 1863, by the Treasurer, were laid before the meeting, and directed to be printed in the *Journal*.

Thanks were then voted to the Chairman, and the meeting adjourned.

Obituary for 1863.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P. AND TREASURER.

EDWARD SACHEVERELL CHANDOS POLE, Esq., of Radborne Hall, Derby, joined the British Archaeological Association at the Derby Congress in 1851, the meetings and excursions of which he attended, and by his agreeable manners essentially promoted the hilarity of the proceedings. He was born on the 1st of March, 1792, succeeded to his father's estates in 1813, and in 1827 served the office of high sheriff of Derbyshire. He died on the 19th of January, 1863, in the seventy-first year of his age.

Mr. Pole was descended of an ancient family of no little historic importance, and was a representative of the great house of Chandos of Radborne, and a younger branch of the Ferrars, Earl of Derby, claiming an uninterrupted descent from the time of the Conqueror. In the county of Derby many members of his family have filled the most responsible of positions, representing it in parliament, and eminent in affording members in the high courts of justice. The celebrated Cardinal Pole was descended from a younger branch of Ralph De la Pole, one of the judges of the Court of King's Bench in 1452.

Our late esteemed Associate entered the army, and served under the illustrious Wellington in the Peninsular campaign. He received his education at Harrow and Great Marlow, the latter being in his day the military college. He received his first appointment in the army as ensign of the 1st Regiment of Guards, at the early age of sixteen. He served in the Walcheren expedition, afterwards in Spain and Portugal, and continued in the service, most highly esteemed by his brother officers, until the death of his father, when, upon succeeding to the family property, he quitted the line, but held the command of a troop of yeomanry cavalry in his county. His father, in 1807, assumed by sign manual, as representative of the great Sir John Chandos, K.G., the additional surname and arms of Chandos. The early age at which he entered the army, his military pursuits, and subsequent attention to domestic concerns and the affairs connected with his county, were not likely to offer subjects for the exercise of his taste in archaeological pursuits; but, as connected with general history, he felt much interest in their consideration, and highly esteemed our *Journal*, manifesting the regard he felt for such researches also by subscribing to our *Collections Archaeologica*. It cannot but be highly gratifying to us to find that his eldest son, Edward Sacheverell Chandos Pole, who married Lady Anna Carolina, the eldest daughter of the late Leicester Fitzgerald Charles, fifth Earl of Harrington, of Elvaston Castle, has honoured the Association by placing his name in the list of our Associates, as the successor of his most worthy and highly esteemed father.

WILLIAM JONES, Esq., of Lower Seymour Street, Portman Square, but recently became an Associate, having been admitted only in 1862. He was born in 1811, and died at the age of fifty-two, on the 26th of January, 1863. He was a member of the medical profession, admitted to the Royal College of Surgeons in 1834, and received a degree of Doctor of Medicine at Aberdeen in 1850. He was an ingenious man, and his information was of a general character. We had, however, but few opportunities of seeing him; he attended two or three of our public evening meetings, and then contributed to the interest of our proceedings by his remarks. He published a professional work on the *Diseases of Women* in 1839, and was known as the inventor of the syphon douche in 1848.

EDWARD WILLIAM SMYTHE OWEN, Esq., of Condover House, Shropshire, was the only son of E. Pemberton, Esq., and succeeded to the estates of his uncle, Nicholas Smythe Owen, whose name he assumed, in 1814. He was born in 1794, and died on the 9th of April, 1863, being of the age of sixty-nine years. He was a deputy-lieutenant of Shropshire, and served the office of high sheriff for the county. His wife died but a short time prior to his decease, but he leaves a sister, Letitia Caroline Pemberton, who inherits the principal part of his property. He inhabited a remarkable and interesting house, belonging to the time of Elizabeth, which he generously opened on certain days to the public. We were unable from the multiplicity of objects demanding our attention at the Shrewbury Congress, in 1860, to visit this mansion, which I, however, had afterwards an opportunity of seeing. It was on occasion of this congress, and by the interest he felt in archaeological researches, that he was induced to join our Association, and we have to lament that the connection proved of so short a duration.

We have to record the decease of a lady, Mrs. AGNES STEUART MACNAGHTEN, whose connection with our Association dates so far back as the Winchester Congress of 1845. This lady had great pleasure in the study of antiquities, a taste no doubt essentially promoted by her inhabiting Bittern Manor, near Southampton, the ancient Roman CLAU-SENTUM. Of this station, and of the numerous Roman antiquities there discovered, the pages of our *Journal* afford abundant evidence. On occasion of the Congress, Mrs. Macnaghten opened her mansion to the Association, and exhibited her collection of Roman coins derived from the spot,—a spot which by her liberality has acquired a classic celebrity and interest, and of which, in the *Transactions* of the Winchester Congress, a paper by Mr. C. Roach Smith will be found descriptive of the Roman remains found at Bittern, with a plan of the station and illustrations of the altars, columns, inscriptions, coins, etc., which have

there been discovered. These are subjects of exceeding interest, and among the inscriptions occur no less than three relating to the usurper Tetricus, raised to the imperial dignity by the legions in Gaul towards the close of the reign of Gallienus, and exercising the sovereignty of the western provinces through the reign of Claudius Gothicus and part of that of Aurelian. Mr. Smith in this communication has satisfactorily shewn the interest felt by our late Associate in the antiquities in her possession, and demonstrated the conservative spirit by which she was animated. The wall has been preserved by her care, and is described by Mr. Smith with his accustomed power and felicity. Mrs. Macnaghten continued with us until her decease, on the 28th of April, 1863. As one of our earliest friends, we must feel anxious to pay this tribute of respect to her memory; and we feel highly gratified in being permitted to place Mr. Steuart Macnaghten's name in the list of our Associates, by which we hope to be enabled to continue our report of any discoveries that may be made in this interesting locality.

CHARLES ROWNTREE AINSLIE, Esq., is a name familiar to our Associates, being from 1850 to the period of his decease, on the 27th of May, 1863, a frequent contributor to our *Journal*, an almost constant exhibitor, one who has served on our council, and otherwise greatly interested himself for our success. He was born in 1820, and consequently had only reached his forty-fourth year when removed from us by an internal complaint of a malignant character, under which he had for some time past laboured. His zeal in archaeological research was, however, sustained, though often under great suffering, and the closing communication from him has, indeed, only appeared in the last number of our *Journal*, being one of no little interest and well illustrated, on objects in lead, of a very early period, found in London.

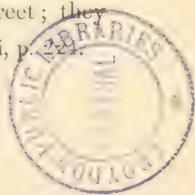
Mr. Ainslie was by profession an architect, and studied under my lamented friend Sir Charles Barry, to whom he was articled. Mr. Ainslie's first communication in our *Journal*¹ consisted of an account of a large collection of arms, principally daggers and arrow heads, found in the Thames whilst digging for the foundation of the new Houses of Parliament. He also exhibited a variety of keys and other antiquities found on the site of Eaton Square, some of which have been figured in our pages.² The communication referred to was of such interest, as to induce Mr. Planché to make remarks upon their peculiarities, which are also printed.³ In 1853 Mr. Ainslie exhibited specimens of pottery and glass obtained in London, some of which was Roman. In 1857 Mr. Ainslie made many communications. An early iron padlock, of peculiar construction, found in Fleet Ditch;⁴ some ancient glass found also in London, along with Samian ware, in Tower Street; they

¹ See vol. vi, p. 149.

² *Ib.*, vi, 150.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*, xiii, p. 221.



were of unguentarii, lacrymatories, part of a wine jug, ribbed bottles, etc.¹ On this occasion he also produced one of forty bottles found in a cesspool in Cannon Street, and proved that, although they were frequently denominated Roman, they could not with propriety but be referred to a much later origin. He also exhibited a British gold coin found in the Thames, near London Bridge, identical with one engraved in Ruding, pl. I. fig. 7. A collection of Saxon pennies was also exhibited from Mr. Ainslie's cabinet, belonging to the reigns of Ethelred II, Edward I, Canute, and Edward the Confessor;² besides various others of a later period. In the same year he also exhibited the umbo of a Highland target, found in the Thames whilst excavating for the Houses of Parliament. Also two drinking goblets³ of the seventeenth century, found in Cannon Street, with a lustrous coating of electrum Britannicum, occasioned by oxydation. At another meeting he brought forward two gold coins discovered at Chinkford, in Essex,⁴ one of which was a well known type of Cunobeline; the other similar to a Celtic gold coin exhibited by Mr. W. Calder Marshall, R.A., found at Erith. Mr. Ainslie also produced six fine and perfect keys of iron, found in the Thames at Westminster, the earliest being of the thirteenth century;⁵ the others were of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. He likewise exhibited a fine rapier, of the time of Charles I, the steel pommel and guard of which were richly decorated with figures. It was found in Lincolnshire, at a place called Bloody Lane, five miles from Lowth, a spot traditionally stated to be the site of a rencontre between Cromwell and the Royalists. The last communication of Mr. Ainslie in this year was in relation to the key carried by Lord Rochester, as chamberlain to Charles II, which was exhibited. In 1858 our deceased member exhibited two other British coins,⁶ reported to have been dug up in St. James's Park: one was of gold, and figured by Ruding; the other of silver, like to one also in Ruding. In 1859 Mr. Ainslie exhibited a character fermail of brass, of the fourteenth century, found in the Thames, with a singular inscription, probably a legend, to which talismanic virtue was attached in the Middle Ages.⁷ He also exhibited a fine and perfect spur of the time of Richard III, found in a garden at Hackney in 1857: from its ornamented character and other appearances, it would seem to have been used at some tournament; it had a rowel of eight points. In 1861 Mr. Ainslie exhibited other objects from the Thames: a brass spoon, a leaden toy, and a bone handle in form of a female figure.⁸ During the excavations for the Houses of Parliament many objects of curiosity were discovered, and Mr. Ainslie obtained some curious fragments of glass, principally of stems and bases of drinking vessels, supposed to be of Murano fabric.⁹ In 1862

¹ *Journal*, xiii, p. 226.

² *Ib.*, p. 237.

³ *Ib.*, p. 314.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 334.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 335.

⁶ *Ib.*, xiv, p. 346.

⁷ *Ib.*, xv, p. 266.

⁸ *Ib.*, xvii, p. 225.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 235.

a fine sovereign of Elizabeth was found among the *débris* of a house in Cheapside, opposite Bow Church; the die for this coin was cut on the queen's sixty-seventh birthday, and contrasts strongly with the old and ugly appearance of the monarch on the Strawberry Hill coin in the British Museum.¹ Mr. Ainslie also exhibited a gold crown of James I, found in Bagnigge Wells Road,² and a delicate, probably a wedding ring of gold, weighing only seven and a half grains, having stamped on it the letter v or a reversed, as it was reported to have belonged to a Lady Arrol (qy. Errol).³ In 1863 he exhibited a silicious cast of the interior of a *Cyphosoma Komiqi*,⁴ found in making an excavation at Westminster, which had probably been employed as an amulet by some ancient inhabitant of Thorney Island. Two iron arrow heads, obtained from the Thames, were also exhibited, one of which may pertain to the Norman era, the other was a roving or flight arrow of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

Mr. Ainslie's last communication,⁵ printed in the March number of our *Journal* for this year, has already been alluded to, and closes a series of valuable and highly interesting objects of very diversified character. Mr. Ainslie, ever attentive to the occurrences of the day, never lost sight of an opportunity to obtain whatever might prove of interest and illustrate antiquity, and in the course of his researches had amassed together a considerable collection. I know not how far he inherited his taste for such researches from a distinguished relative, an uncle, General Ainslie, whose collection of coins and work relating to them is well known. General Ainslie I had the honour of knowing; he was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a Member of the Antiquaries' Club, at the meetings of which I have had the gratification of passing with him some pleasant hours. Particulars in regard to Mr. Ainslie's professional works, his attention having been principally devoted to ecclesiastical architecture, and other matters of interest of a private nature, I should have been glad to have been able to lay before you; these, however, I have not been successful in my endeavours to obtain, and we must rest satisfied with the recollections most of us have of his agreeable and gentlemanly deportment, of his zeal in all matters relating to antiquities, and the facilities he always afforded to the Association to have the most interesting objects of his collection laid before us and illustrated for the information of the Associates at large.

ROBERT HUTCHINSON, Esq., of Cape Coast Castle, became an Associate on occasion of his visit to this country in 1859. His father was, I believe, consul at this station, and he himself was mayor, and exercised great authority in his country. I had the gratification of meeting him on two or three occasions, by the kindness of our most esteemed

¹ *Journal*, xviii. p. 264.

³ *Ib.* xviii. p. 284.

⁴ *Ib.* xix. p. 58.

² *Ib.* p. 280.

⁵ *Ib.* xx. p. 80.

Associate Dr. William Beattie, and he was induced by us to become connected with us as an Associate. His information was of a very general character, and he appeared to me to be a good observer. Highly pleased with the objects of our Association, he made to me a promise of a communication on some subject of African antiquity. His early decease, however, at an age not exceeding forty years, has deprived us of this satisfaction, and we must regret his loss. He had gone into the Bush at the head of his Rifles to meet and check the Ashantees as they approached the frontiers, and there, while on arduous duty, he was seized and suddenly cut off by an attack of dysentery. His death threw a dark gloom over that portion of the Gold Coast, where, like his father, he had been for many years a most liberal and unwearied benefactor of the native race. The letter which announced his death added that the town of Cape Coast was "filled with grief, which found expression in the wildest lamentations."

I have now to call your attention to a serious and unexpected loss we have sustained in the decease of our late President, BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., etc. The obligations of the Association to that gentleman, especially upon occasion of his presiding over us at the Shrewsbury Congress in 1860,¹ are well known to most of our Associates; but to him it must be also acknowledged we have been indebted for various services from a very early period of our institution. In 1849 he became a Life Member of our body, and from that time we received from him various donations to assist in our publications, he also serving on our Council and as a Vice-President during the years 1850, 1851, and 1852.

Mr. Botfield, of Decker Hill, Salop, and Norton Hall, Northamptonshire, was born March 5, 1807, at Earl's Ditton in Shropshire, and was the only son of Beriah Botfield by Charlotte Withering, daughter of the celebrated botanist, William Withering, M.D., F.R.S. As the particulars of his family history have been given by himself in the publication of the *Stemmata Boterilliana*, privately printed in 1858, elegantly illustrated, and forming a volume of 204 pages 4to., with numerous appendices amounting to 548 additional, it precludes the necessity of any particular account in a sketch so slight as must necessarily be the case in an Obituary Notice for the pages of our *Journal*. It will be sufficient, therefore, for the present purpose to state that, although the family sprang from Shropshire, Mr. Botfield represented only the third generation of those of his name who owned Norton. Geoffrey and Oliver Botevyle came over from Poitou, about

¹ For "Proceedings of the Congress," Mr. and Mrs. Botfield's reception of the Association, and the President's concluding address, see *Journal*, vol. xvii, pp. 41 *et seq.*

1200, to aid King John in his wars with the barons, and they settled at Botevyle, near Church Stretton. John Boteville, or Botfelde de la Imne, commonly called John o Th'Imne (the inner or nearer wood), became founder of the family of Thynne, the head of which is now the Marquis of Bath. Thomas Botfield, the grandfather of our late Associate, was an ingenious man of the middle classes, who, having successfully managed the Hawarden Collieries in Flintshire, subsequently worked those of Dawlay, Shropshire, and acquired a vast fortune. By his wife, the daughter of Mr. Baker of Worfield, Salop, he had issue three sons, Thomas, William, and Beriah. Thomas, the eldest, was a Fellow of the Royal Society, bought Hopton Court, near Ludlow, was High Sheriff of the county in 1818, and died in 1843. William, the second son, inherited Decker Hill, near Shiffnal, managed the Old Park Iron Works and the Collieries of Little Dawlay, was also High Sheriff of the county, and died in 1850. Beriah, the third son, father of our deceased member, inherited Norton Hall, near Daventry, and died in April 1813, leaving an only son by his wife, Catherine Withering. Our late Associate succeeded to Norton at his father's death; to Decker Hill on the decease of his aunt, Mrs. William Botfield, in December 1851; and to Hopton on the death of his aunt, Mrs. Thomas Botfield, in August 1856. The entire possessions of the family thus passed into his hands. The acquisition of landed property by the Botfields from 1798 to 1858, as shewn by the schedule of Mr. Botfield's estates, is very remarkable, and amounts to no less a sum than £650,738:17:10.

Mr. Botfield received his education at Harrow, under the Rev. Wm. Drury, and ever entertained great attachment to the school, endowing it with the Botfield Medal for Modern Languages, competed for annually. He quitted Harrow in 1824 to enter as gentleman commoner at Christ Church College, Oxford, taking the degree of B.A. in 1828, and that of M.A. in 1847. Here his taste in the pursuit of science seems to have been manifested, as he was particularly attentive to the instruction given by the Professors Buckland and Daubeny. Whilst at Harrow he ardently engaged in a search for curious books, and he made a large collection of botanical works, to which he was probably led by his mother's descent and the celebrity of his grandfather, Dr. Withering. I recollect somewhere to have seen a notice in regard to his having printed, at a very early date, *Memorabilia Botanica*, which however I have never seen, and it may consist merely of the titles of the botanical works he had brought together. No evidences of his labours in scientific botany are to be found, and it is probable that they gave way to a more general love of books and literature in general, which continued with him to the end of his existence. There are, however, few scientific societies of which he was not a member, and we accordingly find him a Fellow of the Royal Society, the

Society of Antiquaries, the Linnaean Society, the Geological Society, the Royal Institution, the Royal Society of Literature, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Philobiblon Society, the Zoological Society, the Society of Arts, the Royal Irish Academy, the Society of Civil Engineers, besides many foreign societies having the same objects. He was also a member of many publishing clubs: the Roxburgh, of which he was treasurer, the Maitland, the Bannatyne, the Abbotsford, the Surtees, the Camden, the Percy, the Ælfrie, the Cheetham, the Hakluyt, etc., etc. His father, we have seen, died at an early period; and ere Mr. Botfield attained his majority he had the misfortune also to lose his mother. At twenty-one years of age he was in the possession of a large fortune. With great means and zealous in collecting works in art, science, and literature, he was enabled to obtain numerous productions, and it is not astonishing to find some of his earliest purchases possess but little merit; yet in his collections are many works of considerable merit and value, and by esteemed masters. His books were principally deposited at Norton Hall, near Daventry, Northamptonshire. His own publications, taking them in a chronological order, are as follows:

1. "Journal of a Tour through the Highlands of Scotland during the Summer of 1829." 12mo. Norton Hall, privately printed in 1830. Illustrated by a View of Edinburgh from the Calton Hill and of the Cathedral of Iona.

2. "Stemmata Botevilliana." Lond., 1843, 8vo; second edition in 1858, 4to. Of the first edition thirty-five copies only were printed. The illustrations are numerous and of a varied character.

3. "Catalogue of Pictures in his possession at Norton Hall." 8vo, Lond., 1848.

They are numerous, and many are of the Dutch school. In the collection may be mentioned specimens by Both, Annibale and Antonio Caracci, Caravaggio, Corregio, Domenichino, Garofalo, Carlo and Agnese Dolce, Hornbrook, Van Huysum, Cornelius Janssen (portraits of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, and Sir George Villiers, his father; also Prince Rupert, dated 1659), Kneller (a portrait of the Duchess of Cleveland, 1684), Lancret, Landi, Lely (portraits of the Countess of Suffolk, Duchess of Grafton, Countess of Ranelagh, and Mrs. Middleton), Carlo Maratti, Metzger, Van der Meulen, Mirevelt (portraits of Prince Maurice of Nassau, Francis Lord Bacon, 1620, and his wife, æt. forty-two, 1620), Van der Neer, Netscher (a portrait of Earl Clarendon as Chancellor), Pietro Perugino (the Virgin and Infant Jesus, of which an etching is given), Paul Potter, Sebastian del Piombo, Poelenburg, Gaspar Poussin, Raffiello (a copy of *La Bella Fornarina*, in the Florence Gallery, by Anna Teerlink, 1844), Giulio Romano, Ruysdael, Sassoferrato, Del Sarto, David Teniers, jun., Tintoretto.

Vandyek (portraits of Margaret Lemon, his mistress, as Judith, from the Strawberry Hill Collection, and of the Countess of Portland, æt. twenty-six, from Mr. J. Harman's), Watteau, Wieninx, Wouvermans, Wynants, Zuccarelli, and Zuccherò (portraits of Queen Katherine Parr, Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and Sir Francis Walsingham, from the Strawberry Hill Collection).

By English artists there are works by Clint, Coleman, Davison (Kitty Clive, the actress, from Strawberry Hill), Dawes (the Duke of Cumberland, 1812), Gainsborough, Glover, Hogarth (Kitty Fisher), Holme, a pupil of Sir J. Reynolds (portrait of Sterne), Lancaster, Luni, a marine painter (forty-six works belonging to Devon), Middleton (portraits of William Withering), Morland (Smugglers), Nasmyth, Newbolt (Roman Views), Nollekens, Northcote (portrait of W. Pitt as Chancellor of the Exchequer), Opie (Gipsy and Schoolmistress), Phillips (portrait of Dr. Buckland, 1839), Romney (Lady Hamilton as a Shepherdess), Stothard, Stone (portrait of Sir Thomas Gresham, 1579), Tiffin (Caxton's House in the Almonry, Westminster, 1847), Tucker of Exeter (Views in Devon, Norton Hall, etc.), Webster (Marine Pictures), W. E. West (Portraits of Lord Byron and Teresa Guiccioli, taken at Pisa for W. Joy, Esq., 1822), and Penry Williams (Scenes in Rome).

By anonymous artists there are, among others, portraits of Sir William Dugdale, William Ingilby, a Parliamentary general, Prince Charles Stuart, Henry Rich Earl of Holland, John Milton, æt. thirty-five, from the Strawberry Hill Collection, King Henry VII and Edward VI on panel, Lady Jane Grey, Charles II, Earl of Pembroke and Lady Coventry.

Of water-colour drawings there are examples of Buckler (the monuments at Christ Church, Oxon, of Cyril Jackson by Chantrey), C. Landseer (Temptation of St. Anthony), Henry Perry (Carisbrooke Castle Gateway). There are also miniatures by Petitot of Louis XIV and Philip V of Spain, from the collection of George IV, also of the great Condé.

Of Mr. Botfield there are many portraits in oil, water-colour, crayon, etc.: at eighteen months age by Engleheart; at fourteen years by Gillespie; at twenty-one and at twenty-three by Sir William Newton (the latter engraved); at twenty-two by Chalon; at thirty-six, as belonging to the Yeomanry Cavalry, and at thirty-eight, as Deputy-Lieutenant of Northamptonshire, both by Middleton. There are in the Norton Hall Collection, also, several portraits of different members of the family and views of the hall and grounds.

4. "Bibliotheca Hearniana: Excerpts from the Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Hearne, A.M., printed from his own Manuscript." 8vo, Lond., 1848. Privately printed.

5. "Notes on the Cathedral Libraries of England." 8vo, Lond.,

1849. Dedicated to the present Archbishop of Canterbury, his master at Harrow.

6. "A Description of the Discoveries at Borough Hill, the ancient Bownavenna, near Norton."

7. "Some Remarks on the Prefaces to the First Editions of the Classics." 8vo, Lond., 1854. Submitted to the Philobiblon Society. A second and enlarged edition appeared under the following title in 1861:—

8. "Præfationes et Epistolæ Editionibus Principibus Auctorum Veterum præpositæ." Also with the title: "Prefaces to the First Editions of the Greek and Roman Classics and the Sacred Scriptures." The title-pages bear respectively, Cantabrigiæ, 1861 and London, 1861. Dedicated to the King of Hanover. This is a valuable contribution to bibliography, as the English introduction by Mr. Botfield points out the history and uncertainty of the early manuscript literature, and its transition to the relatively speaking much more critical and certain printed literature. The original prefaces cannot but be of the greatest interest, having been written by the first scholars of their day. The number is very great, being little, if any, short of one hundred and fifty.

9. "Historical Account of the Family of Thynne, otherwise Botfield, by Joseph Morris." 8vo., Westminster, 1855. This is from the third volume of the *Topographer and Genealogist*.

10. "Some Account of the First English Bible." 8vo, Lond. Printed for the Philobiblon Society.

11. "Catalogue of the Books of Richard de Gravesend, Bishop of London, 1303." 8vo, Lond. The bishop was consecrated August 12, 1280, and died December 9, 1303. This was also for the Philobiblon Society, and gives an account of the Roll of the bishop's effects at the time of his decease. It measures twenty-eight feet in length, and is about one foot in width. His plate, the goods of his chapel, etc. The whole of this should be printed, for some of the articles are curious. Mr. Botfield thinks it the first exemplar of a priced catalogue known. Its value amounted to £99:18:2, which, according to the present value of money, should be multiplied by fifteen. The total property was scheduled towards £3,000 of the money of that period.

12. "Notes on Libraries." These were printed in 1855, also for the Philobiblon Society, and embrace merely those of the Public Library of Norwich and the Library at Blickling Hall.

13. "Bibliotheca Membranacea Britannica, or Notices of Early English Books printed upon Vellum." 8vo, London.

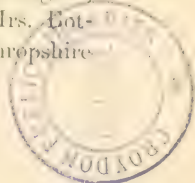
14. "Catalogue of the Minister's Library in the Collegiate Church of Tong in Shropshire, with some Notices of that Structure." 8vo, London, 1858.

15. "Shropshire, its History and Antiquities; an Address to the

British Archæological Association assembled in Congress at Shrewsbury, August 6, 1860." Printed in the first volume of the *Collectanea Archæologica* of the Association. 4to, London, 1862.

Not only to the pages of our *Transactions* did Mr. Botfield make contributions; others from his pen are to be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Philobiblon Miscellany*, the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and the Roxburgh Club. To the latter he presented "Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, illustrated by Original Records. I. Household Roll of Eleanor, Countess of Leicester, A.D. 1265; II. Accounts of the Executors of Eleanor, Queen Consort of Edward I, A.D. 1291; III. Accounts and Memoranda of Sir John Howard, first Duke of Norfolk, A.D. 1462 to A.D. 1471." This was edited, and an introduction written by the late T. Hudson Turner. 4to, Lond., 1841. To the Bannatyne Club he presented "Original Letters on the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland," and to the Abbotsford Club "The Buke of the Order of Knyghthood, translated from the French by Sir Gilbert Hay." To the Maitland Club "The Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, 1558-1637, by John Row, Minister." For the Surtees Society he edited "Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral, at various periods, from the Conquest to the Dissolution."

Mr. Botfield's communications to the Society of Antiquaries consist of "On the Discovery of the Remains of the Priory of Austin Friars at Ludlow," read before the society in February 1862, and printed in the thirty-ninth volume of the *Archæologia*, pp. 171-184. A plan of the house, together with engravings of various fragments and paving tiles, accompany this paper, and were presented to the society by Mr. Botfield. His attention to literature led to his association with many foreign societies, and also obtained for him distinguished honours, receiving a gold medal from the King of Hanover in 1850, and being made a Knight of the Order of Albert the Brave, by King Frederick of Saxony, on presenting a complete collection of British minerals to the Royal Museum of Dresden, and also the civil decoration of Leopold of Belgium for the present of a collection of British birds to the Natural History Museum at Brussels. He was a Deputy-Lieutenant of the counties of Salop and of Northampton, and he served the office of High Sheriff of Salop in 1831. In 1840 he was elected member of Parliament for Ludlow, and again returned in 1841. At the election in 1847 he was unsuccessful, but being solicited by his former constituents in 1857, he again stood for the borough, and represented it until his decease. In 1858 he married Isabella, the second daughter of Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart., M.P., by whom he had no issue. He died at the early age of fifty-six, on the 7th of August, 1863, at his mansion in Grosvenor Square (where he and Mrs. Botfield had courteously received the Association prior to the Shropshire



Congress), leaving a large property (the personalty being sworn under £200,000), of which he was the sole possessor. This he bequeathed to his wife for her life, subject to various legacies; but the greater part is entailed upon the second son (as yet unborn) of the Marquis of Bath, and further upon some members of the same family, the families being, as shewn in the *Stemmata Botvilliana*, distantly connected with Botville Thynnes of Longleat in Wilts. The trustees are the Earl of Powis and Sir B. Leighton, Bt., M.P. He bequeathed £2,000 Consols to found a scholarship from Harrow School, to be held for three years, at one of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Durham, Edinburgh, or Glasgow; made numerous bequests to about one hundred and fifty charitable institutions, to the clerks in his iron works and collieries, his servants, etc. To sixteen labourers he left £3 each to carry him to the grave; and, ever mindful of the place of his education, he founded a scholarship at Harrow of £60, to be held for three years. He directed that a catalogue of his books should be completed within twelve months of his decease, inspected and compared at stated periods by the trustees. All serials and numbers to be continued; and these, together with his MSS., prints, pictures, statuary, arms, and armour, and all other collections to be held and enjoyed by the possessor of Norton Hall.

JOSEPH GWILT, Esq., F.S.A., was one of our earliest Associates, and served as a member of our council during the years 1845 and 1846. His professional avocations and frequent absence from London deprived us of the advantages we otherwise might have enjoyed from more personal intercourse, for his information was of a very varied character, and his acquaintance with various branches of knowledge of no mean description. Mr. Gwilt was born in Southwark, January 11, 1784, and died, at Henley-on-Thames, September 14, 1863, at the age of seventy-nine years. His father was a well known architect and surveyor in the county of Surrey, and among the buildings of his erection may be named that of the Horsemonger Lane Gaol and the Newington Sessions House. Our deceased Associate was the younger son of his father, his elder brother, George, being also an architect, an Associate of our body, of whom I gave an obituary notice in 1856. Both were also Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, and contributed to the *Archæologia*. Mr. Joseph Gwilt received a part of his education at St. Paul's School, whence he was taken into his father's office, and also admitted a student at the Royal Academy, where he obtained a silver medal for the best drawing of the tower and steeple of St. Dunstan in the East. As an architectural author he is well known, and his works may almost be considered as the text books of the present day. He possessed a profound knowledge of mathematics, and as early as 1811

put forth a work on the *Equilibrium of Arches*, a second edition of which appeared in 1826, and a third in 1839. He visited Rome with professional objects, making a tour through the principal cities of Italy, and compiled a *Catalogue Raisonné* of the chief buildings, classifying them under the names of their distinguished architects. This catalogue he printed in 1818, under the title of *Nolitia Architectonica Italiana*, or Concise Notices of the Buildings and Architects of Italy, and was preceded by a short essay on civil architecture, and an introductory view of the ancient architecture of the Romans. As a travelling hand-book this work may still be found of utility. In 1821 he printed *Cursory Remarks on the Origin of Caryatides*, which he addressed to our old friend, the late Mr. John Britton, for whom he entertained great esteem. This, however, was not published, but the principal part of its contents afterwards appeared in his introduction to *Chambers's Civil Architecture*. These labours may be said to have led to his principal performance, presently to be noticed, the *Encyclopaedia*. He made a design for new London Bridge, and being disappointed in his expectations in regard to this structure, and calling in question the proceedings which had taken place in regard to it, he printed a pamphlet, entitled, *The Conduct of the Corporation of the City of London considered in respect of the Designs submitted to it for Rebuilding London Bridge, in a Letter to Geo. Holme Sumner, Esq., M.P., by an Architect*. The decision in regard to the bridge had been left by the corporation to the three architects of the Woods and Forests, and their selection fell to the production of Mr. Gwilt, the first premium being awarded to him, but he failed to reap his expected reward for his success, in being entrusted with the building of the bridge.

In the same year he published an ingenious work *On the Projection of Shadows*, a second edition of which appeared in 1824, under the title of *Sciography; or, Examples of Shadows*. This is, I believe, the first work of the kind that had appeared in England on this subject, though works on the same had issued from the pen of French artists. Mr. Gwilt wrote in the following year *A Historical, Descriptive, and Critical Account of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London*, being the substance of a paper read before the Architects' and Antiquaries' Club. It subsequently appeared in Pugin's *Public Buildings of London*, for which work he also wrote accounts of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, St. Mary, Woolnoth, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and St. James's, Westminster. In 1824 he published a sheet engraving, giving a "Comparative View of the Four Principal Modern Churches in Europe;" and in 1825 commenced his 8vo edition of Sir W. Chambers's *Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture*, with notes and a preface on Grecian architecture. A translation of the *Architecture of Vitruvius* had for many years engaged Mr. Gwilt's attention, and he put it forth, together with a Life

of Vitruvius, in 1826. In the same year he published *Rudiments of Architecture, Practical and Theoretical, giving also a Cursory View of Ancient Architecture, a Dictionary of Terms, etc.*, which were afterwards embodied in his *Encyclopædia*.

Not only was his attention bestowed upon architecture, he was likewise engaged upon an Ordinary for Sir Harris Nicolas, to accompany his *Roll of Arms of Peers and Knights in the Reign of Edward II.* His accuracy in regard to this Ordinary has been questioned by Mr. J. Gough Nichols:¹ the coats are explained in modern terms; the old blazon translated into new; the definitions having been determined by references to authorities interpreted by modern principles and practice. Mr. Nichols conceives that Mr. Gwilt had not from a study of the ancient Rolls imbibed, in a sufficient degree, the spirit in which coat armour was originally developed, nor had he made himself acquainted with the early mode of differencing; he therefore placed in his Ordinary under several heads, instead of under one, such coats as are either identical and vary only in their differences, or are very intimately cognate and allied, and should therefore be exhibited under one view, whereby the early ramifications of armoury might receive most important and instructive illustration.²

As a proof of the versatility of Mr. Gwilt's genius and his great assiduity, I may mention that, in 1829, he published *Rudiments of a Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue*; and in 1835 a *Treatise on the Art of Music* (for he was an accomplished musician), which appeared in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*. In 1837 he printed a small work, embodying however much historic and other information, *Elements of Architectural Criticism, for the Use of Students, Amateurs, and Reviewers*, in which he severely criticised the modern German school of architecture, and on this subject he further contributed several articles in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*. The *Elements* were inscribed to the late Mr. C. R. Cockerell. The crowning work of Mr. Gwilt's architectural labours is to be found in his *Encyclopædia of Architecture, Historical, Theoretical, and Practical, Illustrated with upwards of one thousand Engravings on Wood, by B. Branstetter, from Drawings by John Sebastian Gwilt, son of Mr. Gwilt*. This first appeared in 1842. Its value is too well known to need any remark from me on this occasion. A second edition was demanded in 1845, a third in 1851, a fourth in 1854, and a fifth, in a cheaper form, in 1859. In 1842 Mr. Gwilt also contributed to Professor Brande's *Dictionary of Literature, Science, and Art*, the articles relating to architecture and music. Mr. Gwilt also projected a National Gallery for the site of Trafalgar Square, on the

¹ Herald and Genealogist, Nov. 1863.

² Mr. Nichols gives several illustrations confirmatory of his view of the subject.

ground now occupied by the asphalted area and fountains. His last literary labour was published by Mr. H. G. Bohn, and consisted of an edition of Peter Nicholson's *Principles of Architecture*.

As a practical architect Mr. Gwilt is known by the erection of a church at Lec, near Lewisham; the approaches to Southwark Bridge; Markree Castle, near Sligo, the seat of a dear friend of mine, lately deceased, Mr. E. J. Cooper, F.R.S., late M.P. for Sligo, whose contributions to astronomical knowledge are universally admitted to have been of the highest order, and with whom no doubt Mr. Gwilt became acquainted through the Royal Astronomical Society, of which both were active members; the Byzantine church of St. Thomas at Charlton, near Woolwich; the additions and alterations to the hall of the Grocers' Company, of which body he was the regularly appointed surveyor. He held also a similar appointment to the Wax Chandlers' Company, and he was architect to the Imperial Insurance Company. In addition to these lucrative appointments, he also held that of one of the surveyors of the sewers in the county of Surrey, succeeding his father in the office. The government frequently sought his aid, and he often gave evidence and advice on committees and commissions on subjects of importance, with which he was well acquainted. There remains only to be noticed a design he made for Sir T. M. Wilson for building purposes on the Hampstead Heath estate, which, had it been carried out, would have displayed to great advantage Mr. Gwilt's powers and acquirements; but an opinion being generally entertained as to such a measure causing to the public a deprivation of a spot beneficial for air and recreation, prevented its being put into practice. The changes in his neighbourhood (he being a resident in Abingdon Street, Westminster), occasioned by the building of the new Houses of Parliament in 1854, induced Mr. Gwilt to quit his abode and seek retirement. His very extensive library was sold by auction, and he withdrew from the active business of life. He had married, in 1808, Louisa, third daughter of Samuel Brandram, Esq., a well known and highly respected merchant, by whom he had several children, some of whom have distinguished themselves in their several professions, in the law, the army, and in architecture.

GEORGE RICHARD CORNER, Esq., was an Associate from the commencement of our establishment. He attended the first Congress, and manifested his taste for antiquarian research and regard for our body by frequent contributions. He was the eldest son of a solicitor well known in Southwark, and himself practised the law. He was born in the parish of Christ Church, Blackfriars, and educated at a private seminary known as Gordon House, Kentish Town. His father died when he was young, and he had to contend with many difficulties, the

family being numerous—six children, four of whom were boys, and all following their father's profession. Our late member was the eldest; the next, Arthur Bloxam Corner, was her Majesty's coroner and attorney in the Court of Queen's Bench, and died in 1861; the third, Richard James Corner, was of the Inner Temple, and Chief Justice of her Majesty's settlements on the Gold Coast, and joint author, with the preceding, of a legal work known as *Corner's Crown Practice*, published in 1844; the fourth, Charles Calvert Corner, was for some time an Associate of our body, and died in 1861. Mr. Corner's taste for the study of antiquities exhibited itself at an early period, and his favourite pursuit consisted in the examination of ancient documents, thereby illustrating history. His zeal and ability led to his advance in his profession, and he was appointed vestry clerk to the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, and he rendered services to this locality of no little value. In 1833 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and to this society he made many communications, some of which have been printed in the *Archæologia*. In 1834 he furnished information in regard to the "Discovery of some Roman Remains (pottery, lamps, etc.) found in the parish of St. Olave;"¹ and he marked the distinctions between the three manors of Southwark, not previously made by any of the local historians. These were the Guildable Manor, granted to the citizens of London by Edward III; a manor of the Archbishop of Canterbury, afterwards called the King's Manor; and the Great Liberty Manor, which belonged to the monastery of Bermondsey. In the reign of Edward VI these two were acquired by the City of London.

The following year he exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries an ancient sword and spear head, found in the Thames, near Limehouse;² and in 1850 he communicated extracts from the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of Eltham, in Kent,³ where at that time he resided. These contain many curious items, and the ecclesiastical objects received elucidation from the notes of Mr. Gage Rokewode.

In 1854 Mr. Corner communicated an account of excavations on the site of Roman buildings at Keston, near Bromley, Kent, made by him, Mr. Lemon, and Mr. Akerman, discovering foundations of buildings under two arable fields. In addition to walls of great extent, various coins were found of Clodius Albinus, Carausius, Allectus, Claudius Gothicus, Victorinus, and Constantius Magnus; varieties of ridge, flue, and drain tiles, some ornamented with patterns; bones of animals and pottery, including some Samian ware, among which was a colander. Drawings of this discovery, by Mr. Fairholt, accompany the paper, which is drawn up with much ability.⁴

In the same volume⁵ he also gives an account of the Abbot of Walt-

¹ *Archæologia*, xxv, 620.

² *Ib.*, xxvi, 482.

³ *Ib.*, xxxiv, 51-65.

⁴ *Ib.*, xxxvi, 120, 128.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 400-417.

ham's house in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, London. This building was unknown to Stow, but it is mentioned in Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*,¹ where it is stated that the parish purchased the abbot's kitchen, and erected the south aisle of the parish church on the site in 1501. Mr. Corner traces the property from the first abbot in 1177, and gives various deeds relating to the same of much interest.

In 1856 and 1857 he contributed observations on the remains of an Anglo-Norman building in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, hitherto assumed to have been the hostelry of the prior of Lewes, but now believed to have been the manor house of the Earls of Warren and Surrey, in Southwark.² This is an elaborate paper, supported by documentary evidence, of which it would be difficult to make an abstract. All interested in the subject must refer to the paper for the very satisfactory information it contains. In 1860 he supplied notices of John, Lord Stanhope of Harrington, comprising particulars relating to the character and career of one of Elizabeth's courtiers, and serve to illustrate some letters previously laid before the society by Earl Stanhope and Mr. Almack.³

Mr. Corner's last communication to the Society of Antiquaries has not yet been printed. It is descriptive of four ancient paintings, on vellum, belonging to Mr. Selby Lowndes, representing the courts of law in session, the officers in full costume. His illustrations are copious, and facsimiles of the drawings are being printed on the Continent in coloured lithography.

To the Sussex Archæological Society, in 1852, Mr. Corner made a valuable communication "On the Custom of Borough English," as existing in that county, printed in their *Transactions*.⁴

To the *Transactions* of the Surrey Archæological Society he also contributed a paper "On the Anglo-Saxon Charters of Fridwald, Ælfred, and Edward the Confessor to Chertsey Abbey," a valuable addition to those published by J. M. Kemble, Esq., in his *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Sæconici*;⁵ also a paper "On the History of Horselydown," read at that place in October 1855.⁶ This communication is illustrated by two exceedingly interesting plates, one being a plan of the date of 1544, in the possession of the governors of St. Olave's Grammar School; the other from a picture at Hatfield House, by G. Hoffnagle, belonging to the Marquis of Salisbury, and supposed to represent a *fiel* at Horselydown in 1590. Also a contribution of a collection of ancient wills relating to Southwark, among which are those of Alwin Child, the founder of the monastery of St. Saviour, Bermondsey; John Gower the poet, and several of the families of Burestre and Mackyng.⁷

¹ Vol. iv, 417.

² Archæologia, xxxviii, 37-45, 400-417.

³ Ib., xxxviii, 389-404.

⁴ Vol. vi, pp. 164-189.

⁵ Vol. i, pp. 77-96.

⁶ Ib., pp. 156-179.

⁷ Ib., pp. 190-202.

At a meeting of the Surrey Archaeological Society at Lambeth Palace, Mr. Corner prepared a paper relating to Elias Ashmole and his possessions in South Lambeth;¹ and on another occasion, in 1853, he compiled some notices of the ancient inns of Southwark—the Tabard, the George, the White Hart, the Boar's Head, and others.² He is said also to have drawn up a list of the members of Parliament for Southwark from the earliest time, with historical and biographical notices. It was printed in a local newspaper, called *The South London Journal*, which I have not been able to see.

The *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* contains also communications from Mr. Corner: abstracts of sundry deeds relating to houses in the parishes of St. Saviour and St. Olave, Southwark, formerly called the Dolphin and Bear Taverns, at the foot of London Bridge, with notices of the families of Lake and Middleton of Southwark;³ also some particulars of the Abbot of Battle's Inn, in the parish of St. Olave and of the manor of the Maze, in the same parish and of some of the owners of that manor.⁴

Mr. Corner also gave an elaborate account of the Grammar School of St. Olave and St. John, in Southwark, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,⁵ together with a plate of the school and the seal of 1579 belonging to it⁶. To the *Gentleman's Magazine* Mr. Corner also contributed an obituary notice of Henry Aston Barker, the inventor of panoramas, of which he gives a very interesting account.⁷

I must, however, now draw your attention to the contributions he made to our *Journal*. In chronological order I commence with vol. ii, p. 97, which relates to the exhibition of a curious iron instrument used for striking forged papal bulls. The obverse of the die gives the title of Pope Pius II. The instrument and the medal are both represented in the *Journal*. In vol. iii, p. 348, we have an interesting discovery in the Borough of a curious archway found upon uncovering a part of an ancient bridge in Kent Street. It consists of a single early pointed arch of stone, similar to the oldest part of the old London Bridge, and has a span of nine feet, and is in height six feet. A cut is given in the *Journal* from a drawing by Mr. A. Newman. Vol. iv, p. 78, presents to us the tracing of an incised slab in Matlock Church, Derbyshire, in memory of Anthonie Woolley and Agnes his wife. It is an interesting object in regard to costume, illustrating a passage in the *Taming of the Shrew*, and is of the fifteenth century.

In vol. xiii, p. 235, a notice is given of an iron coffer of the sixteenth century, decorated with devices in gold. It has a very complicated

¹ *Ib.*, vol. ii, pp. 18-26.

³ Vol. v, pp. 45-61.

² *Ib.*, pp. 50-81.

⁴ Vol. viii, p. 247-262.

⁵ Vol. for 1836, pp. 15, 16, 137-144.

⁶ See also, on this establishment, my paper in the *Journal*, xiv, pp. 313-315.

⁷ Vol. for 1856, p. 515.

lock, with six bolts, and was probably used to secure some deed or document of importance, cash or jewellery of value. It belongs to the time of Henry VIII.

Ib. p. 203 gives the representation of a Saxon spear or gar (pl. 31, fig. 1) found in the Thames, and is a very fine example.

Ib. p. 236 gives an account of two Italian medals in lead, one presenting the profile of L. Junius Brutus, the other of Seneca, probably ideal portraits.

Ib. p. 245 records three deeds relating to the Ashmole property at South Lambeth; one is a release to Mr. Dugdale in trust for Mr. A.; the second is also a release, and the third a conveyance from Elias Ashmole to Sir John Dugdale and Mr. Thursby for Elizabeth Ashmole's jointure of lands in South Lambeth. These are interesting, as the mansion now known as the turret-house was formerly the museum of the Tradescants, and was probably built originally by Ashmole to receive his collection now at Oxford.

Ib. p. 253 relates the particulars of the finding of eight metal spoons in London at different times, of different shape, and of different metal. One in latten belonged to the time of Elizabeth, to which time also four others may be assigned.

Ib. p. 254 contains a notice of the finding of a water jar of red earth at a considerable depth, when preparing for the foundation of the church of the Pilgrim Fathers, in New Kent Road.

Ib. p. 312 gives the representation of a Western African ring, used exclusively by those of high rank, cut out of fine silver, and stamped in a peculiar manner.

Ib. p. 321 details particulars of coins and pottery from the New Kent Road, among which were some portions of Samian ware, also a rare tradesman's token of London, not in the Beaufoy Collection.

Ib. p. 325 gives an account of a wedding dress of the reign of George II, a matchless example of the period. Also a hair-pin and earrings of the same period, composed of small beads of mother-of-pearl sewed on frames of gilt brass.

Ib. p. 330. Mr. Corner exhibited a *fausse montre* of fine gold, and silver thread woven on silk.

In vol. xiv, p. 90, there is the copy of a deed, belonging to the Cordwainers' Company, relating to property near the site of the Globe Theatre, Bankside. A Peter Shakspeare is one of the witnesses to this instrument.

Ib. p. 281 describes a morocco purse, resembling in type the money-bag of not less than 2000 years antiquity.

Ib. p. 337 gives a description and illustration of a very rare and interesting object, a Roman flower vase, found in Southwark.

Ib. p. 344 relates the particulars of a beautiful bowl of polished turbo shell of the close of the sixteenth century.



In vol. xvi, p. 329, is an account of nineteen objects brought from Gibraltar of various kinds, some Egyptian, in porcelain and in bronze. Other antiquities of an archaic character were procured in Sicily, etc.

In addition to the numerous papers in our *Journal*, and other works, Mr. Corner arranged a quarto volume on the estates of the united parishes of which he was vestry clerk, denominated the "Rental of St. Olave and St. John, Southwark," which was printed in 1838, and again in 1851. His life will be seen to have been one of great industry; but it remains to be told that, towards the close of his life, he fell into difficulties, occasioned, I believe, by family misfortunes, and he died at Camberwell, on the 31st October, 1863, at the age of sixty-two years. He had married in 1828, and has left a widow with two sons and two daughters. His habits were social, and his manners kind and agreeable. He will be long remembered by his Associates and friends, and his loss regretted.

WILLIAM SALT, Esq. was also one of the earliest members of our Association, having made a donation of ten guineas at the Congress held at Canterbury in 1844. At this time no regular subscription was required of the Associates, and the sum was intended to go towards a fund to promote excavations in search of antiquities, and also to aid in the preservation of ancient buildings. Mr. Salt was subsequently a constant reader of our *Journal* and a contributor to the *Collectanea Archaeologica*. No one knew better how to estimate the value of such publications, and he evinced this by directing his attention to the compiling Itineraries of our kings on an enlarged scale of that published by Mr. T. Duffus Hardy for the reign of King John, printed in the *Archæologia*,¹ and those by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne of Edward I and Edward II in our *Collectanea Archaeologica*.² Mr. Salt printed an Itinerary of Henry III, and it is a valuable acquisition to historical students, and has supplied materials for various papers printed in the archaeological journals. He also contemplated and was engaged upon a new arrangement of the wills proved in the diocese of Lichfield, with indexes to the same. In the same direction he was induced to make large collections of ancient proclamations, broadsides, and private Acts of Parliament, and of these he made most liberal and costly gifts to the library of the British Museum, and to that of the Society of Antiquaries.

Upon referring to the minutes of the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, I find that in December 1852 Mr. Salt presented two valuable volumes of proclamations, one belonging to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the other to that of James I; in February 1853 acts and ordinances about the time of the Civil War, and forty more proclama-

¹ Vol. xxii, pp. 124-160.

² Vol. i, pp. 113-144; vol. ii, pp. 115-136.

tions; in May 1855 two proclamations of the Protector Cromwell, one dated March 20, 1654, "A Declaration of His Highness the Lord Protector inviting the People of England and Wales to a Day of Solemn Fasting and Humiliation," the motive of this being stated to be for the "common and notorious sins so boldly and impenitently practised amongst us, together with the present rod of an exceeding and unusual drought"; the other of May 9 following, setting apart Tuesday the 23rd of this present May for a "publique day of thanksgiving for the peace concluded between this Commonwealth and that of the United Provinces, and for the late seasonable rain." In December 1855 Mr. Salt made a donation of another volume of proclamations, consisting of twenty-three deficient in the Society's collection, besides a variety of broadsides, many of which are very scarce and valuable. In May 1856 he presented three hundred and seventy-three more proclamations, scarcely any of which were in the Society's collection; and in May 1857 Mr. Salt prevailed upon Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode, the Queen's printers, to present to the Society a series of royal proclamations of the reigns of George II and III, the only copies they had, being about one hundred in number, and wanting to complete the Society's collection. By these presents and Mr. Salt's generosity the Society now possesses a most valuable collection, which has been ably arranged by Mr. Robert Lemon, F.S.A., of Her Majesty's State Paper Office.

Mr. Salt, in 1852, called the attention of the Society to a descriptive account, illustrated by numerous drawings, of the church of St. Radegunde at Tours, in the department of the Loire in France, by the Rev. J. L. Petit, M.A., F.S.A., a church interesting from the excavations in the rock connected with it, and to which the early character of the building itself gives the stamp of antiquity.¹

Mr. Salt was the third son of John Stevenson Salt, a banker in Lombard Street, and of Weeping Cross, Stafford, and of Sarah Stevenson, whose father was a banker at Stafford, and also in London. He was born October 29, 1808, and sent to school at Dr. Morris's at Brentford, near Ealing, in 1815. Here, however, he remained only ten years, being withdrawn in consequence of the great panic in the commercial world in 1825, to render assistance to his father in this emergency. He was found so competent and so useful that he was not permitted to return to school, and thus he commenced business at an earlier age than was originally intended. His connection with Stafford induced him, in 1844, to print a supplement to Dr. Harwood's edition of Sampson Erdeswicke's *Survey of Staffordshire*, and for many years he was engaged upon a new edition of Shaw's *History of Stafford-*

¹ See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. ii, p. 216.

shire. On this he expended great labour and no inconsiderable cost, having copies made of all documents in the public archives relating to the county.

It was in 1842 that Mr. Salt was admitted a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and I had the pleasure of serving on the Council with him of that society. He was of most amiable manners, modest, and unassuming throughout his career, and never failing to support any laudable object by his personal services and the aid of his purse. In a letter from a high authority, and by one who knew him well, his life is alluded to as "not like the rushing roar of a torrent, leaping over obstacles and attracting attention and admiration by its stormy grandeur," but as rather "like a silver stream gliding, often unseen, through lonely places, fertilising and beautifying whatever it touched. His goodness, like the sunshine, penetrated into dark places." This is only deserved eulogy, and many have to deplore his decease. He was a liberal benefactor to many charitable institutions, and he belonged to various societies, among which should be mentioned the Royal Society of Literature, in which he took much interest. Mr. Henry Salt, the well known Abyssinian and Egyptian traveller, was related to our late member, who died at his house in Park Square East, Regent's Park, on the 6th of December, 1863, at the age of fifty-five years.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 65.)

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14.

At an early hour the Association assembled to proceed by special train to Boroughbridge and Aldborough, where they were most courteously received by Mr. Lawson. The examination of those remarkable monuments commonly known as "The Devil's Arrows," formed the first object of attention, and excited the usual amount of astonishment. They are commonly regarded as Druidical remains, and are three in number, formed of coarse *rag* or millstone grit common in the north of England, and capable of resisting the effects of time in a remarkable degree. On the immediate spot this stone is not met with, but masses of it, in detached portions, are to be found at Plumpton, about ten miles distant, and from this locality it is reasonable to suppose the material of these erections was obtained. The difficulties attendant upon the removal, transit, and elevation of such bodies must have been very great. A fourth stone has been frequently mentioned, but it no longer presents itself as an obelisk; it is recollected as having been used as a foot bridge over the river *Tut*. A good view of them is given in Mr. Ecroyd Smith's *Reliquiæ Isurianæ* (pl. 1). The space between the northern and central stones is one hundred and ninety-eight feet, whilst the distance from the central to the southern stone is no less than three hundred and twenty feet. The fourth stone must have stood on the farther side of the central stone; it had been displaced in the expectation of finding treasure beneath, supposed to have been there buried. Art has had little to do in regard to their form, they however taper upwards; grooves or flutings, conjectured to have been rain-worn channels, are apparent, and towards the base they exhibit traces of the operation of the celt or other instrument employed at a very early period.

Of similar material to that which constitutes "The Devil's Arrows," is a mass of gritstone, of the height of eighteen inches, fashioned into

a human shape, and conjectured to be an ancient British idol, scarcely to be surpassed in ugliness by any other relie. It was found among ancient foundations in digging a cellar upon the old line of road from Iseur to the Arrows. Plate II in Mr. Eeroyd Smith's work gives a representation of this object. Boroughbridge Old Hall was visited, in the grounds of which are many fragments taken from York Minster after the serious conflagration of that edifice.

Quitting Boroughbridge the Association proceeded to Aldborough, and were engaged during a period of three hours in inspecting the various pavements and other interesting Roman remains of this locality. The Association are under infinite obligations to Mr. A. S. Lawson (whose father was chiefly instrumental in the discovery and preservation of the Roman remains) for his assistance in inspecting these objects, and obtaining facilities from all around to pursue their investigations. The reader is referred to Mr. Lawson's interesting paper, printed in the *Journal* (pp. 39-51, *ante*), for particulars relating to their history, discovery, etc. Mr. Lawson's richly stored museum of antiquities preserved at Isurium, constituted an object of the highest interest to the Association; the manner in which they are arranged, and the care with which they are preserved, are deserving of all praise; added to these considerations, must be mentioned the facilities afforded by Mr. Lawson for their examination, entitling him to the special thanks of all antiquaries. The party having duly inspected these treasures were conducted by Mr. Lawson to a tent, where a most bounteous collation was presented to them. Mr. E. Levien, F.S.A., proposed the health of their host, with thanks for his elegant entertainment, which was responded to by Mr. Lawson, expressing his hope that at the next visit to the site of Isurium the members would find many more remains of that ancient city exhumed. The Association then arranged for their return to Leeds, where an evening meeting was held in the lecture room, LORD HOUGHTON, President.

His lordship not having been able to join the Association in their excursion during the day, said he understood the excursion had been a most satisfactory one, and Mr. Lawson had exhibited the greater part of the antiquities and all that the time would allow. The society had taken care to convey to Mr. Lawson their grateful sense of the care with which he had preserved the antiquities, and they were much struck with the ability and discrimination with which he had discharged the important functions he had undertaken.

A letter from Mr. Pettigrew, the Treasurer of the Association, addressed to the President, was read, expressive of his deep regret at being unable to attend the Congress from the continuance of his severe illness; and in a postscript made known to the Association that the man commonly known as "Flint Jack," the celebrated forger of anti-

quities, had been brought before the magistrates at Bridlington, and committed to prison for stealing jet wherewith to fabricate his seals. The Chairman then moved the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:—"That the deep regret of this meeting be expressed to T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Treasurer of the British Archaeological Association, that his continued severe illness should have deprived the Congress at Leeds of his presence and great assistance, and that it is sincerely hoped ere long he may be restored to his usual health and strength."

The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A., then read his paper "On the Honour and Castle of Pontefract." (See pp. 136-155, *ante*.)

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Hartshorne for his very interesting paper. He regretted that the lecturer had not dwelt at greater length on the architecture of the castle, some portions of which still existed, and had been the scenes of important events in history. There was, amongst other portions, the chapel in which, in the time of Henry VIII, the Archbishop of York was murdered at the altar. As to the name, he thought it was quite clear that Pontefract was a translation of the popular and original name Pomfret, which meant broken bridge. There being no river or bridge at Pomfret made it difficult for them to see how there could be a broken bridge. The ancient name of the place was Kirkby, and the name of Pomfret was given to it by Robert de Lacy. Whether he gave it that name in consequence of having a castle of the same name in Normandy—which he thought was the real reason—or in consequence of a bridge over the Aire two or three miles off having been broken down, it was not for him to determine.

The vote of thanks having been seconded and carried, the Chairman proceeded to read a paper "On the History and Canonization of Thomas of Lancaster." (See pp. 16-18, *ante*.) Thanks were awarded to the noble Chairman for his interesting communication; and the proceedings were brought to a close at a late hour by the reading of a long and elaborate paper by the Rev. Scott F. Surtees, "On the Locality of Hengist's last Battle and Burial Place," in which the author endeavoured to show by local nomenclature that Hengist was slain near Conisborough Castle, about six miles from Doncaster, and that the event took place in the year 488. He alluded to numerous places called by names associated with Saxon nomenclature, and corresponding with the names of Hengist, and of those who accompanied him, among which was a place called Hengist's Wood. He confirmed his opinion by various references to the public records, and adduced a mass of circumstantial evidence in support of it. At the conclusion of the paper Mr. Planché said he felt convinced that the existence of such a person as Hengist was altogether mythical, and had no foundation

but in tradition. He was inclined to think that the names which had been mentioned were founded on tradition rather than on fact. Mr. Philipps and others, however, dissented from Mr. Planché's views, and regarded the coincidence of names so great as to afford good evidence in support of the opinions of Mr. Surtees. Thanks were voted to Mr. Surtees for his learned communication.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15.

The Association quitted Leeds by the Great Northern Railway, proceeding to the Kirkgate Station, where they were met and received by Dr. Holdsworth, the mayor, and the town council of Wakefield, on their way visiting the chapel on the bridge, the old houses in Kirkgate, etc., the parish church, and the town hall.

Mr. J. R. Wilson, of Alnwick, architect, briefly explained the principal parts connected with the chapel, for which *in extenso* the reader is referred to pages 111-119, *ante*, for the paper read by him at the town hall.

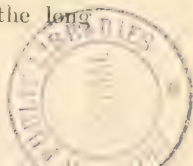
Of the old houses in Kirkgate Street, known as the Six Chimneys, Mr. George Wentworth has presented photographs to the Association. No authentic documents relating to them are known. The period to which they belong, however, is evident from their structure, and their origin must be assigned to the reign of Henry VIII or to that of Elizabeth. It was not an unfrequent practice of that period to embellish buildings with figures bearing the prevalent costume of the day. The Six Chimneys present these objects: on the eastern front there are four figures, near to the cornice, carved in oak, and one on each side of the original entrance. The figures are much decayed, but one of them exhibits a short tunic, with a belt round the waist, with skirts falling in puckered folds a little above the knee. It has a round cap similar to those worn in the reign of Henry VIII. In Lower West Gate is another old house, chiefly composed of wood and plaster. It is the only one of this kind now standing in that part of the town. The carving on the horizontal tie beam of the third gable to the right, would lead us to assign it to the Tudor age. Mr. Fennell, on the part of George Wentworth, Esq.,¹ gave a brief historical description.

At the town hall an official reception was given to Lord Houghton and the Association, and a large number of curiosities and objects of antiquity had been collected together for inspection. By the kindness

¹ The Association have to express their deep regret at the decease of their highly respected member at the early age of thirty-two, on the 7th April last. He took a deep interest in the proceedings, as the present *Journal* and future ones will amply demonstrate.

of Mr. Fennell drawings of the most important have been made, and will be laid before the Association and illustrated in the *Journal*. Dr. Holdsworth, the mayor, after expressing the gratification which the Corporation experienced in receiving so learned a body of gentlemen at Wakefield, contratulated Lord Houghton upon the distinguished honour which the Queen had conferred upon him—an honour no less an acknowledgment of his distinguished literary attainments than of his consistent political career. He referred to the noble lord's connection with Wakefield as a neighbour, and to his readiness on all occasions to assist in the educational efforts of the town. Lord Houghton, in responding, thanked the Corporation, on behalf of the Association, for their kind reception, and expressed their regret that they could not remain longer there. The wealth, the credit, and the position of his family, he added, were mainly owing, not only to their residence in Wakefield, but to the honest trade they pursued there in old times, and in which they contributed much, he believed, to the prosperity of the borough. That was an origin of which no Englishman should ever be ashamed, and of which every Englishman ought to be proud. It was from the commercial classes that justly sprung the best portion of their nobility, and it was thus that all classes in England, the highest to the lowest, were always intimately connected, and a man felt, when elevated to any other class, that he had lost nothing of the privileges of the class from which he was elevated. Mr. Wilson then read his paper "On the Wayside Chapel on the Bridge over the Calder." Mr. O'Callaghan exhibited the sign manual of Richard Duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Wakefield. Thanks were voted to the Mayor and Corporation, Mr. Wentworth, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Fennell, and the party left for Pontefract, at which ancient borough they received a most cordial welcome. The Old Hall, commenced as a palace for the Harewood family but never completed, was visited; it remains as a ruin. The ruins of the church and castle were also inspected, Lord Houghton and the Rev. Mr. Hartshorne pointing out and dwelling upon the principal features of these buildings. A paper "On Harewood Castle," by John Jones, Esq., was transferred over for reading at Leeds on the following evening.

The party then adjourned to the town-hall, where a sumptuous collation had been prepared by the kind attention of the President, the Mayor, and the Corporation. Various complimentary speeches were delivered by Lord Houghton, Mr. Waterhouse, M.P., Mr. Titus Salt, the Mayor, and others. The Mayor in eulogistic terms proposed the health of "Lord Houghton, the President," who had been the representative of that borough for twenty-five years, and whom, although he had been elevated to the peerage, they could still recognise as a neighbour and friend. Lord Houghton observed that during the long



period he had been associated with that borough, he had witnessed many interesting scenes in that hall. There he was first elected a member of Parliament, now about a quarter of a century ago. Since that time there had been great mutations of empires, and great historical events in the world; they had seen the fall of ministers, changes of governments, deaths of good men in whom they were interested, the loss of many friends, and many other things had occurred which were beyond their circuit to inquire into. During that period he had seen in that hall many different assemblies, met for different objects, but hitherto no such event had occurred as the arrival of a literary and philosophical society in that town, to be entertained by the Mayor and Corporation. He was sorry the elements had not been propitious; but he should be glad if anything had happened to obliterate the memory of the darkness and damp, and that they would carry away with them some warm feeling towards the borough of Pontefract; for no town in England was more worthy of the attention of such a society than that most ancient borough. Archæology, instead of making the best of everything, now made the worst of everything, and the openness of Mr. Hartshorne's statements had very much diminished the personal respect he had for him. He thought he might have concealed the fact that there were larger castles, but he told it out with an archæological truth which might be very virtuous, but was rather discreditable. There might have been fortresses greater than theirs, but they would all agree with him that there was hardly one that had gone over so varied a space in British history, or which illustrated in such a singular manner the changes of our constitution, our manners, our habits, our religion, and our laws. In conclusion, the noble lord proposed the health of his predecessor in the office, Dr. Lee, who returned thanks for the compliment, and referred with satisfaction to the change of public opinion respecting archæological pursuits. Formerly people regarded them with suspicion, but now they were welcomed by corporations and civic authorities wherever they went. They felt greatly obliged to the Mayor and Corporation of Pontefract for their kindly reception, and he begged to propose their healths. The Mayor having briefly responded, Mr. Philipps proposed "The Borough Members," and Mr. Waterhouse returned thanks, humorously defending the Corporation from the censure which the noble President had cast upon them in his inaugural address, respecting their neglect of the castle, which, he said, belonged to the Duchy of Lancaster, and not to the borough. Mr. Alderman Moxon stated that the castle belonged to the Duchy of Lancaster, but if the opportunity offered, the Corporation would be ready to purchase it and present it to the town.

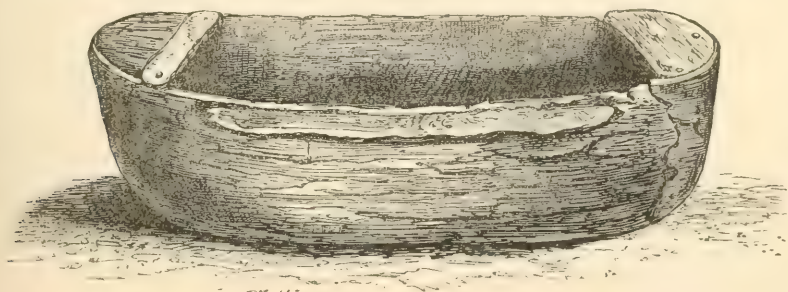
The proceedings were then brought to a close, and the party returned to Leeds.

The Evening Meeting was held in the lecture room of the Philosophical Society.

THE MAYOR OF LEEDS IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills read a paper on, and exhibited a large ground-plan of Fountains Abbey, to be visited on the morrow. This communication, with illustrations, will appear in the *Collectanea Archaeologica*. Mr. O'Callaghan read the following paper, "On an Ancient Canoe discovered at Giggleswick."

"I beg leave to direct the attention of the members of the Archaeological Association to an ancient canoe, which is placed upon the top of one of the ethnological cases in the inner vestibule of our hall. It is one of our most recent and interesting acquisitions, and one of the most valuable to us from its local associations. It was accidentally discovered on the 25th of May of this year, by a man of the name of Joseph Taylor, of Giggleswick, in this county, when employed in draining land belonging to Mr. William Hartley. The place in which it was found is called 'The Tarn,' in the township of Giggleswick. It is close to the margin of a drained lake, which used to be called 'Giggleswick Tarn.' This Tarn is noticed by Whitaker in his *History of Craven*, and he says 'the lake is partly natural and partly artificial.' It had been diminished by repeated drainings from an extensive sheet of water to the size of a small lake frequented by fishermen, even within the recollection of old people still living. Early in this century, however, it was entirely drained and converted into cultivated land. But as it was wet and spongy soil, Taylor had been obliged to cut a deep trench through it, to drain it effectually. In making this trench, the workmen came upon several trunks of old trees, and when this ancient boat made its appearance, it was taken for one of these trees.



This mistake was unfortunate, as it was, in consequence, not so carefully disinterred. However, it is notwithstanding tolerably perfect. It was found lying on the rock, underneath a depth of six feet of soft laminated clay. It is roughly formed from the scooped trunk of a

tree. It is eight feet five inches in length, two feet in extreme breadth, and one foot seven inches within the sides; outer depth one foot nine inches; inner, one foot four inches. It is flat-bottomed, with upright sides; stem and stern very rudely fashioned. Attached to one of the sides was a triangular piece of timber, fastened by wooden pins to the outer side of the gunwale, running nearly its whole length; a similar piece of wood had fallen from the other side, and was broken into several fragments. It was at first supposed that these pieces of timber might have been used as lee or weather boards, but as they were not moveable, I concluded that they were intended to give more bearing or stability to this very unsteady vessel; possibly their upper flat surfaces, being flush with the gunwale, may have served the purpose of seats, and occasionally of tables or shelves for fishing gear. There were no traces of rowlocks, and the probability is that this cranky boat was propelled by a single paddle or pole. A piece of roughly made plank is fastened over the taffrail, which looks very like a seat. There is also a similar, but narrow piece of plank fastened across the upper part of the bows, as if to prevent the splitting of the open-grained pine wood. About ten feet from the head of this boat, an ancient curious iron grappling was turned up, and for several weeks I concluded that it must have been this boat's anchor. I had even written to some archaeological friends to announce the startling discovery of an ancient British canoe, with an anchor actually made of iron. However, I began to doubt the facts, and I communicated with the workman who found the interesting relics, and the enigma was at once solved by his stating that there was a difference of three feet of level between the boat and this grappling, the latter being only three feet or less below the surface. The ring to which these grappling irons are fastened, with well forged eyes, is three inches in diameter, and the grapplings which hang from the ring are eighteen inches long, and hooked at the disengaged ends. It is very probable that it belonged to a boat of much later date."

After a short discussion, directed principally to the best mode of preserving the ancient boat, a paper "On Weapons of the Ancient Tribes of Yorkshire," by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, was read (see pp. 101-111 *ante*). With thanks to the authors of the papers, and to the Mayor for presiding, the meeting terminated.

(To be continued.)

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 10.

NATHANIEL GOULD, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Associates were elected :—

John Westby Gibson, Esq., Warren Street, Pentonville.

John Cordy Wootton, Esq., Ealing.

Thanks were given for the following presents :—

To the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 60. 8vo.

To the Author. Account of inscribed stones in the sepulchral monument, called Mane Nelud, at Lochmariaker, in the department of Morbihan, Brittany, by Samuel Ferguson, Q.C. 8vo.

To the Publisher. *Gentleman's Magazine* for Feb. 8vo.

The Chairman called attention to the practice of “navvys” offering coins for sale as “just having been found”, which have never been exhumed in England, and produced some of copper asserted to have been discovered at Dowgate Hill. Among these are two Greek coins, one being of Antiochus XII, King of Syria (?), the other of Syracuse; others are Roman, viz., first brass of Aulus Vitellius (an Italian cast of the sixteenth century); second brass of Caracalla, struck for Perinthus in Thrace, the *rev.* bearing Hercules and the Mœnalian stag; first brass of Severus Alexander, minted in his third consulship; and a small Byzantine coin of the tenth century, displaying two heads on either side. Thus, if we believe the vender, in one spot have been discovered genuine Greek and Roman coins differing more than a thousand years in date, and accompanied by an Italian forgery of the sixteenth century.¹

Mr. Gunston exhibited the following objects recently discovered on the site of the Steelyard:—1. Small steel slider in shape of a shield charged with a doe's head erased, on a wreath, between the letters R. R. At the back is a ring. Date, late sixteenth century. 2. Seal of brass, the hexangular stem terminating in a round loop. It is engraved with one of the many-armed devices so frequently met with on the merchants' signets of the fifteenth century; the legend giving

¹ For materials for such “finds,” see *Journal*, xvi, 324.

the name of the owner—S. HILDEBR(*and*) ADIDEY SFLIQROD. 3. Brass ferule, probably part of a penner or ink-horn of a merchant, the base graven with his monogram.¹ 4. Oval seal of brass, the slender stem terminating in a flat perforated trefoil. The device is the *Pleiades*, and the trinket probably not only served the purpose of a signet, but was carried about the person as a sort of amulet or badge of good luck by some marines, the “seven stars” having been ever held in reverence by those who dared the dangers of the deep.

Mr. Gunston produced a Perpetual Almanac of lead, of the size of half-a-crown, found in the mud of the Fleet river. On one side is the calendar, contained in a square divided into forty-five compartments, with a long space at the lower corner with the maker’s name—W. FOSTER. On the opposite side are directions arranged in twelve lines—“March 13, the first month; Ap., the second, etc.; and Feb., the last. Observe what day of the week March enters upon: for all such dayes stand under every month for ever. The other week dayes follow in order.” The matters on both sides of this piece are incuse, and it appears to have been struck towards the close of the seventeenth century.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that, “although the period of the invention of perpetual almanacs is undecided, we have good evidence of their use in the sixteenth century, when they were not only made as distinct tablets, but were frequently graven on other articles, sword-blades, watch-cases, walking-staves, etc. In the Museum of Scottish Antiquaries at Edinburgh, is a curious pocket sun-dial, with a perpetual almanac, with this announcement on the back—‘This table beginneth at 1572, and so for ever.’”

Mr. Gunston further contributed a stout piece of board twenty-one inches long by five and a half wide, with a handle fixed towards the lower end, which gives the object the aspect of a plasterer’s gigantic float, the back carved with astronomical symbols. It is divided into four compartments. In the upper is a man seated at a round table on which is laid a long narrow board which he examines with the aid of a pair of compasses. On an arc above appear the sun, moon, stars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn, and in the top spandrels are cherubs’ heads. In the next and longest panel are the sun, earth, moon and earth, with the explanatory words—SON ECLIPS, NOR POL, SYD POL, & MAEN ECLIPS. On one side of the great sun stands a man holding a bent tube in a bucket, and on the other a man placing his eye to what looks very like a theodolite. In the third panel is a large crown and date 1719, and the lowest compartment has a coat of arms in a cartouche-shield, supported by nude figures, but the bearings are cut through to permit the insertion of the handle, which would seem to be

¹ For notice of merchants’ seals, see *Journal*, xiv, 342.

an addition not contemplated by the original sculptor. The devices and legends are coloured red and green, and on the edge of the board are burnt the initials N. B. Though this carving may have been executed by N. B. in 1719, it is in all likelihood a reminiscence of a much earlier design. In a discussion which ensued between Mr. Gunston, Mr. Burnell, Mr. Roberts, and Mr. Cuming, the general impression appeared to be that the float was originally without a handle and had been a sign-board.

Mr. Wood called attention to three aprons of elegantly embroidered Indian muslin, intended to be worn with the enormous hoops of the time of George II. They are each three feet in length, the widest five feet and the others four feet six inches across the bottoms. The largest is decorated with seven perpendicular bands of stripes round which flowering plants are twined, the whole wrought in *darning-stitch*. This apron is edged with narrow Valenciennes lace. The second specimen is wrought throughout in *darning-stitch* with a sort of lattice pattern of tendrils with an eyelet-hole rosette at each intersection. It is edged with a deep furbelow worked like the rest of the muslin. The third apron is powdered with little bean-pods and leaflets in *chain-stitch*. In the early part of the eighteenth century, the apron became an essential item of costume of every belle of fashion. It was at first short and wide, but gradually increasing in length, nearly reached the ground by the middle of the reign of George II. In No. 7, of *The Gray's Inn Journal*, 1752, a lady is made to say that "short aprons are coming into fashion again;" and one style of decorating this article of attire is indicated in a *Receipt for Modern Dress*, published in 1753—

"Furl off your lawn apron with flounces in rows,
Puff and pucker up knots on your arms and your toes."

Mr. Wood also produced a portion of a deep festooned flounce of a dress of a Lady Ashley, of the time of George II. It is of Indian muslin worked in chain-stitch with tendrils, sprigs, etc.

The Rev. E. Kell, F.S.A., in reply to an inquiry regarding the finding of a leaden coffin detailed at the previous meeting, observed that Mr. Baigent having already communicated an excellent account of the discovery of the leaden coffin at Barton near Bishopstoke station, Hants,¹ there was no occasion to add more to that valuable statement; but having had also an opportunity of viewing the coffin soon after its discovery, he had brought with him a small fragment of the lead of the coffin for their inspection, and a piece of glass of one of the vessels, of which there were two, whose forms can be pretty accurately discerned. The glass was marked with spiral lines, and appears to have been of the late Roman period. It was described as being

¹ *Journal*, see *ante*, pp. 88-90.

found near the neck of the skeleton. One of these vessels was about three inches and a half in height and three and three-quarters in circumference; the other three and three-quarters in height and six in circumference. There was the bottom of another vessel, of which the form could not be ascertained. There appeared in it an incrustation of some reddish matter. The skeleton was that of a young female apparently of about twenty. The teeth (of which only one was missing) retained the enamel. A branch of a shrub might have been deposited on the left side from the dark or carboniferous appearance of that part of the contents. The coffin, which from the appearance of the soil, seemed as if it had been enclosed in a shell of elm or other wood, was six feet one inch long, ten inches deep, and one foot nine inches broad. The lead was one-eighth and one-sixteenth of an inch thick. It was cut out of the sheet, not cast. The lid lapped over the coffin, and was not soldered. It bore no traces of ornament. In its general appearance it may be said to resemble the leaden coffin found in Haydon Square, Minories, described in the *Journal*, ix, 161-7; and also of one which was found with human relics in Camden Gardens, Bethnal Green, and placed in 1862 in the British Museum. It recalled to mind also a leaden coffin found in 1839 in the south aisle of Romsey Abbey, at the depth of five feet under the foundations of a building anterior to the present abbey church. The seams of that coffin were folded over each other, and welded—no solder being used. The oak shell mouldered to dust on being exposed, and every part of the body had disappeared except a scalp with a beautiful head of hair belonging to the lady, which had a plaited tail about eighteen inches long.¹ It was considered that this coffin was Roman, and supposed that Romsey Abbey Church, like that at Christchurch and Winchester Cathedral, stood on the foundations of Roman places of worship. Barton, near Bishopstoke, where the leaden coffin was found, is about five furlongs from the Roman road which runs between Winchester and Clausentum.

Mr. Kell exhibited drawings, made for him by Mr. J. D. Smith, of the coffin and of the glass vessels, and also of the several portions and the form which the fragments might be presumed to have presented when entire, having much of a Saxon aspect.

Mr. T. Wright, F.S.A., doubted if the glass, as far as could be judged by the drawings, be strictly what we call Saxon. The great glass-works of the later Roman period appear to have been on the banks of the Rhine and in the north of Gaul, and they seem to have been continued into the Frankish period. In the purely Roman period, he had no doubt that a great majority of the glass vessels used in this country were made in the island, but he has always suspected that the glass we find in the early Saxon graves was brought from the Continent, and from these glass-works on the Rhine and in the north of France, from

¹ See Spence's *Essay on Romsey Abbey*, p. 60.

the identity between the Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, and early German glass. The gradual transition from the Roman glass to that found in the graves of the Allemanni, the Franks, and the Anglo-Saxons, is traced very distinctly in the glass vessels found on some of the Roman sites on the Continent; and he thought that this glass found at Bishopstoke may be late Roman glass, imported, perhaps, from the Continent. Several characteristics, as exhibited in the drawings, seemed to justify this opinion. At the same time there is no doubt that leaden coffins have been found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. There was certainly one, and he thought more, found in the great cemetery of Osengall, in the Isle of Thanet, opened first by the cutting of the railway from Minsterley to Ramsgate, and afterwards more carefully explored by the late Mr. Rolfe. The leaden coffins were found by the railway-excavators, and the contents, he believed, were dispersed, but they were always looked upon as Roman interments of a very late date, and as proofs of the continued existence in this island of a mixture of Roman and Saxon population. The coffin from Bishopstoke, he should judge, is not correctly drawn, as it is much shallower than any leaden coffins he ever saw.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that after a careful examination of the portion of one of the glass vessels found at Barton, he felt convinced that it was of Roman or Romano-British origin of a rather late era. The paste is somewhat peculiar in character, having neither the decided green of the majority of the Roman vitrea met with in this country, nor of that colourless variety occasionally seen, but of an intermediate hue which may be likened to very pale olive oil. Many minute air-bubbles are scattered through its substance, and other features deserving of notice are its thinness, and the wavy, streaky lines which decorate the exterior surface, and which may have constituted a close spiral round the body of the vessel.

The Rev. Mr. Kell exhibited a light-coloured flint celt lately found at Botley, Hants, not unlike in colour (probably derived from having been imbedded in a gravelly soil) two specimens from the same county to be seen in the British Museum. The celt at Botley was found when digging up the roots of an old tree.

Mr. Irvine exhibited prints of pavements at Mr. Andrew Lawson's Museum, at Aldborough, visited by the Association at the late Congress, and of the principal pavements at Leicester also inspected by the Association in 1862. Mr. Irvine also exhibited the photograph of a Roman pavement in the south-west corner of Dorchester within the walls hitherto undescribed. The character of this pavement is almost Gothic in its character.

Mr. W. H. Forman exhibited a satyr's mask of bronze with eyes and teeth of silver, which Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked was to be regarded

as a fine example of Toreutic work, an art which probably had its origin in Asia, practised from a remote to a comparatively late period in Egypt, held in high esteem by both Greeks and Romans, and which must be considered the parent of the *dunasken* of the middle ages. Mr. Forman's specimen (see plate 9, fig. 1) is wrought of that peculiar, light-coloured Corinthian metal distinguished in ancient times by the title of *canlidum*, and was evidently cast in a mould, and tooled up with the *colam* or graving tool. It is of the same age as the Medici and Warwick marble vases assigned to the Alexandrian period. Mr. Forman's mask had formed the enrichment of the base of the handle of a massive vase, to which it was attached by solder. According to Pausanias, the discovery of the art of uniting metals by this means is due to Glaucus of Chios, who flourished about four hundred and ninety years before the Christian æra.

Mr. Cuming exhibited another example from his own collection (fig. 2) with silver eyes, presumed to represent the infant Bacchus. It seems to have been affixed beneath the handle of a vessel by the joint means of fine iron pins and solder, possibly the *kollesis* of Pausanias. Pliny calls one kind of solder "*plumbum argentarium*";¹ another *santerna*, composed of borax, nitre, and copperas, pounded with a little gold and silver in a brazen mortar;² but we have much to learn before we can identify the particular kinds employed in ancient times. This specimen was discovered at Cumæ; and the general aspect of the countenance brings to mind the full-faced busts on some of the early Greek coinage. To the foregoing Mr. Cuming added a beautiful bust of the young Bacchus (fig. 3) found in Rome during the seventeenth century. It has been broken from the centre of a votive *clipeus*, and may be compared with examples given in Beger's *Thesaurus Brandenburg* (p. 242). and La Chaussés *Grand Cabinet Romain* (p. 37, fig. 2). Behind the head spreads a vine leaf; across the brow is a *frontule*, or *vitta*; and on either side the face hangs a bunch of grapes, like a cluster of round curls. It is wrought of that dull, brown variety of bronze termed *hepatizon*, which differed little in hue from the metal employed by the cinque cento artists of Italy. The sockets of the eyes of this head of Bacchus are now void, but had formerly been filled with silver.

The *aquipedulum* of the *statera*, when bust-shaped, has frequently silver eyes; and figures of animals have likewise been found similarly adorned, the presence of which metal as an inlay, in whatever form it may appear, generally marks the object to be of an early and superior fabric."

Mr. H. Durden, of Blandford, exhibited one of the bronze ears of some large vessel such as the *athenium*, *cortina*, *lebes*, or *hydria*, requiring a strong handle for suspension over the hearth or removal from place to place. It is of bold and elegant design, representing a full-faced

¹ Hist. Nat., xxxiv, 17, s. 48.

² Ib. xxxiv, 12; xxxv, 5.



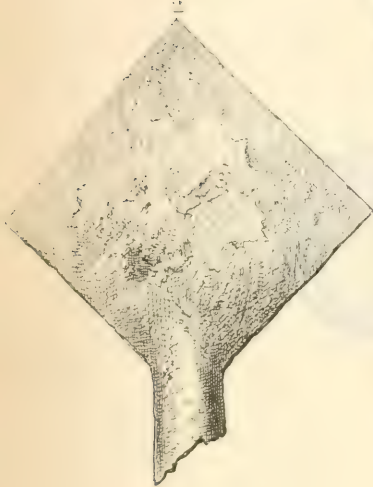




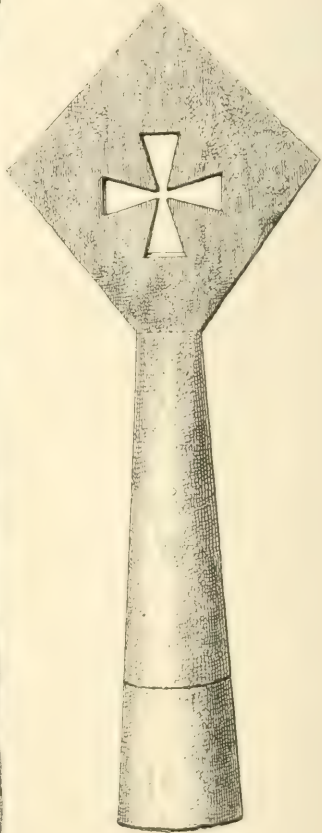
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3



female bust with a collar of eleven leaves depending from a beaded circlet: on either side project animal heads, and above is a stout ring to receive the *ansa* of the vessel. This fine piece of work is certainly not later than the first century of the Christian era, and was exhumed at Hod Hill, Dorset, March 1st, 1862 (see Plate 9, fig. 4).

Mr. H. Syer Cuming communicated the following notices respecting some

“EARLY LANCE-HEADS OF IRON.

“In several volumes of our *Journal* representations are given of mediæval paintings, sculptures, etc., in which lances of different kinds are introduced;¹ but, so far as I remember, no actual examples of such weapons have been laid before us of a later date than Anglo-Saxon times, until we arrive at the sixteenth century, of which period we have been shewn some good specimens. Mr. Gunston now exhibits to us the head of an early English war-lance lately found in clearing out the mud at Queenhithe, the *Ripa Regine* of ancient documents (see plate 10, fig. 1). This rare and curious weapon differs essentially in character from the spears and lances employed by the Teutonic tribes, the blade being remarkably thin and lozenge-shaped, measuring nearly two inches and three-eighths across the cusps, and having a four-sided stem of considerable length, to which no doubt a little gonfanon, or banderolle, was once attached. The great advantage of the long stem was that the head of the weapon could not be cut off by the swords of the cavalry, which might be done if it were short, or the wooden shaft unprotected by metal. Lozenge-formed lance-heads are met with in illuminations and other works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and I think we may safely ascribe Mr. Gunston's example to the reign of Edward I (1272-1307).

“The present seems a fit opportunity to record the discovery in the Thames, near London Bridge, in 1848, of another early war-lance of great rarity. I regret to say that the relic here referred to was sold with a lot of refuse iron, and therefore probably lost for ever; but I have fortunately preserved its form in a rough sketch, by which it will be seen that the blade was an equilateral lozenge, about four inches in width and height, surmounting a stout stem, a small portion of which alone remained when I examined the specimen (fig. 2). I regard this lance-head as of somewhat prior date to that of Mr. Gunston's; and what invests it with peculiar interest is that it is identical in outline with the ‘true holy lance’ preserved in the monastery of Kickart, a few leagues from Erivan in Armenia, and traditionally reported to have been brought hither by St. Matthew. A copperplate of this famous weapon (see fig. 3) is given in Tavernier's *Persian Travels*, vol. ii, p. 13. We may presume that this engraving represents the lance-

¹ See v, 373; vi, 123; vii, 138; ix, 8; xi, 304; xiii, 114; xiv, 333.

head of its full size ; and if so, it is rather smaller than the one from the Thames, being but two inches and three-eighths across the cusps. The blade is perforated near its centre with a cross pattée, the badge assigned to the order of Knights Templars by Pope Eugenius III (1145-53) ; and I suspect, notwithstanding the story about St. Matthew, that this lance was borne by a member of the fraternity ; and that it, as well as its likeness from the Thames, really the work of the middle of the twelfth century.

“ The ‘ holy lance ’ in Armenia is distinct in form from that bearing the same designation at Nuremberg, and of which the ecclesiastics of that city have published a representation, together with many other sacred relics.¹ In this weapon the long, narrow, sharp, pointed blade has a cross-piece at the bottom which stretches out on either side of the fluted socket which extends some distance up the blade. Both the socket and cross-piece remind us strongly of the lance-heads found in some of the later Frankish graves, which are from eighteen to twenty inches in length ; and therefore agree pretty well with the holy relic at Nuremberg, which measures nineteen inches and three quarters.

“ But how, it may be asked, comes there to be at the same moment a ‘ true holy lance ’ in Armenia and Nuremberg, and, we might add, also at Rome and Paris ? I believe the explanation may be found in this way. In the middle ages the Passion of our Lord formed a favourite religious pageant with the monks, and of course required suitable dresses and accessories to give it due effect. The Roman centurion, or St. Longinus as he is frequently styled, needed a lance at the crucifixion ; which weapon, whether it were employed in Italy or France, Germany or Armenia, acquired the name of ‘ the holy lance,’ and came at length to be regarded as the veritable blade which pierced the Saviour’s side. We have a familiar instance in our own country of how a weapon may obtain a credit and renown to which it has no sort of right. I allude to a dagger belonging to the Fishmongers’ Company, which, though no older than the sixteenth century, is affirmed to be the very one worn by Sir William Walworth at Smithfield in the year 1381. The weapon doubtlessly acquired its title from being carried by the mimic knight in the City pageant, just as the old lances became ‘ holy ’ from being borne by the personator of St. Longinus in the sacred dramas of the monks.

“ Returning to the before mentioned lances, I would observe in conclusion that I consider the one preserved at Nuremberg to be the earliest, and probably dating from the tenth century. Next in age are the lozenge-shaped blades from the Thames and in Armenia, which seem to be of the twelfth century ; and latest of all is the example from Queenhithe, which is certainly of the time of our first Edward.”

¹ Copied in Hone’s *Every Day Book*, ii, 430.

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ON THE ROMAN ROADS INTERSECTING THE PARISH OF HALIFAX.

BY F. A. LEYLAND, ESQ.

THE parish of Halifax is possessed of considerable interest both in a picturesque and an archæological point of view; constituting as it does, for the most part, the western portion of Brigantia proper, and having for its confines in that direction the mountains of Lancashire known in Roman times as the Pennine Alps. The physical character of the parish is extremely hilly, with deep valleys and gorges intersecting it in various directions. Many of the hills are of considerable elevation above the sea-level; and, clothed with their native heather, bear upon their lofty summits, worn and black with age, huge blocks and masses of rock known as millstone-grit. From these rugged and barren elevations the eye wanders over landscapes of surpassing beauty, diversified on every hand with hill and vale, with river, wood, and crag,—the natural features of a bold and impressive scenery of the grandest type. One of the most imposing I remember to have seen in this immediate neighbourhood, is obtained from a point on an ancient road from Cambodunum to Colne. Here the tourist, having followed the road from Soyland, surveys from that point on the long causeway near the top of Hathershelf Scout, a landscape of unusual interest. Far below, at the foot of the hill, rests the

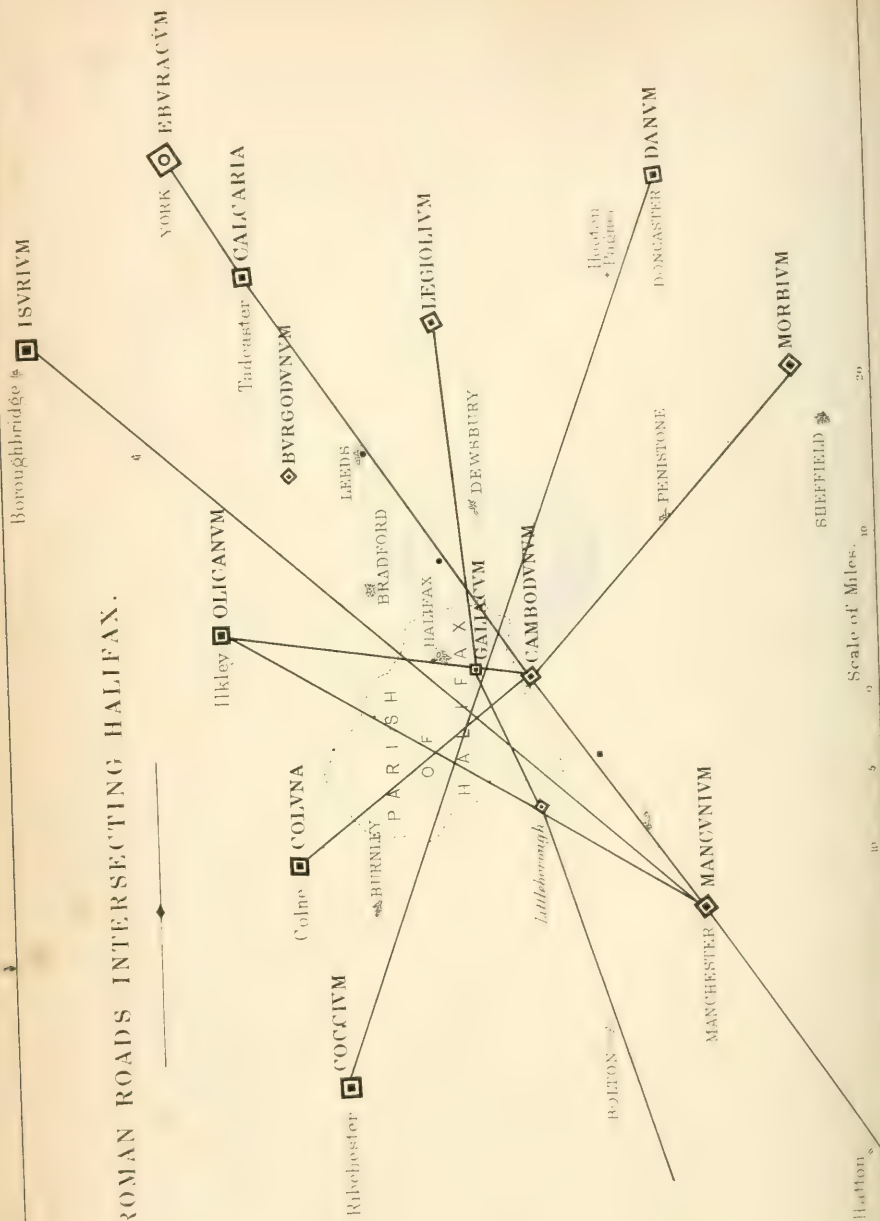
village of Mytholmroyd, with the river Calder flowing over its weir, and gliding past the picturesque crags of Hathershell. On the left of the valley lie the wooded gorges and fertile slopes of Erringden, bounded by the heath-clad moors of Sowerby. On the right of the valley the fair pastures, halls, and farmsteads, of Warley and Midgley stretch towards Hebden; and above them repose the moors of Midgley and Wadsworth, with the height of Camp End, which marks the course of the Roman road from Ilkley to Manchester. Midway, and far up the valley, on its rounded hill, tumbling to decay, stands the ancient town of Heptonstall, with its venerable church tower rising slightly above the houses which seem to encircle it. Beyond, and in the far distance, the view is bounded by the grand and solemn heights of Black Hamilton and Boulsworth.

There are few districts in England that can boast of a greater number of the most enchanting views of ever varying interest, than this parish affords almost at every turn on the courses of our ancient roads; and as these generally take the highest ground, they command a wide extent of country, and keep the valleys in view. Such is the general physical character of the parish of Halifax; and one which possesses no common interest for the painter, the poet, and the tourist. But to the archæologist it is invested with a very peculiar interest,—an interest arising from the fact of the district being intersected by a number of ancient roads coming from, and pointing in the direction of, places celebrated in British or Roman history, and possessing, for the most part, the requisite claims to a very great antiquity.

In July 1861 I read a paper on this subject before a local society, the Geological and Polytechnical of the West Riding, and in that paper I reviewed the difficulties of various kinds which obstructed the inquiry. It is scarcely necessary to repeat them on the present occasion; but I may say that if on the one hand there is much to perplex and depress, there is on the other much to encourage and sustain in the pursuit of an inquiry so replete with interest. And this interest was, perhaps, never more keenly felt than at the present day, when the ceaseless activity of commercial progress, the needs of an increased population, and the necessity which exists for improved means of transit from place to place, involve that continual change which is fast obliterating the



ROMAN ROADS INTERSECTING HALIFAX.



few remaining material traces of the earlier inhabitants of the country. But if the difficulties in the way of the inquiry, which arise from these causes, are great, they are increased by the perplexities and contrary opinions of the eminent men who have written on the subject; for with regard even to the courses of the four great roads which are known to have crossed the island from several points ever since the Saxon times, scarcely any two antiquaries are agreed, and one learned author¹ declares it would require no little space barely to state the various routes through which different writers have carried these roads. As to those of the parish of Halifax, no reliable information can be obtained from our local histories; and this, I think, has arisen from the defective mode of observation, in the pursuit of this inquiry, adopted by their respective writers. With so little, therefore, to direct me, I felt myself placed under the necessity of keeping strictly in view the various data recognised on all hands as requisite for the authenticity of British or Roman roads in general. I had long observed that the parish of Halifax was intersected by roads of great antiquity; that their direction lay to and from far distant places,—places known to have been Roman, if not British towns; that portions of their pavements were of peculiar construction, and of heavy materials; that names were attached to them, and way-side crosses, which indicated a long existence; and that they were distinguished more or less by tumuli, earthworks, and other evidences of a remote origin. In addition to this, the parish of Halifax was surrounded by no fewer than nine Roman towns, to and from several of which these roads evidently led, namely, Eboracum, Isurium, Olicana, Coluna, Cocceium, Mancunium, Cambodunum, Danum, and Legiolium; known in modern times as York, Aldborough, Ilkley, Colne, Ribchester, Manchester, Slack near Stainland, Doncaster, and Castleford. And what is also remarkable, we find that the geographical position of the parish of Halifax is so perfectly central in the midst of these Roman towns and stations, that if the outlines of the parish are marked in their true position on an accurate map, and perfectly straight lines are drawn from town to town, they will one and all intersect the parish. (See plan on plate 11.)

Corresponding also with these lines, and so far as the in-

¹ Eboracum, p. 154.

equalities of the hilly country I have described will allow, are to be found as many ancient roads, either untouched at intervals along their respective courses by modern renovation, or coinciding with the present turnpikes. The first of these to which I shall draw your attention is that known as the second iter of Antonine; but as there can be little difference of opinion as to its original course, it will not be necessary to detain you long upon it. As the measurements of the distances of the stations upon this road are made by the horizontal line, without regard to inequalities of surface, we are compelled to take an undeviating course over the country in order to keep in, even with the corrected numbers of the *Itinerary*. This we can easily do by following the long beaten track which for the most part still exists, and has at intervals on its line the necessary evidence of an age anterior to the Saxon times. By adopting this method we shall relieve the inquiry from much of the conjectural with which it has been invested, especially by Watson, who with singular indifference to the numbers of the *Itinerary*, and in utter disregard to the simple principle of the straight course invariably adopted by the Roman authorities in the formation of their roads, takes this iter from Slack to beyond Wakefield, where he unites it with the Ermine-street from Doncaster to York. This he apparently does to avoid both Cleckheaton and Kirkclees, the former of which might have contested with Slack the claim to the site of Cambodunum, answering as it does very well, in its distance from Calcaria, the uncorrected numbers both of Richard and Antonine; and, on the authority of Dr. Richardson, having had fixed and heavy remains of the Roman times found there. But in doing this Watson departs wholly from the direct route, and extends the distance from York to Manchester considerably beyond even the extended numbers of the corrected *Itinerary*.

The first station upon the iter from Eboracum towards Macunium, or Mancunium, is Calcaria; and the distance of nine miles, the measure of the *Itinerary*, requires no correction. In a direct line from Tadcaster, and at the distance of a stage from it, we have Wall Flat, near Leeds, where Thoresby marks a camp. From this point, and at the space of about twenty-two miles, the uncorrected distance of the *Itinerary* from Calcaria, we reach Cleckheaton, where the

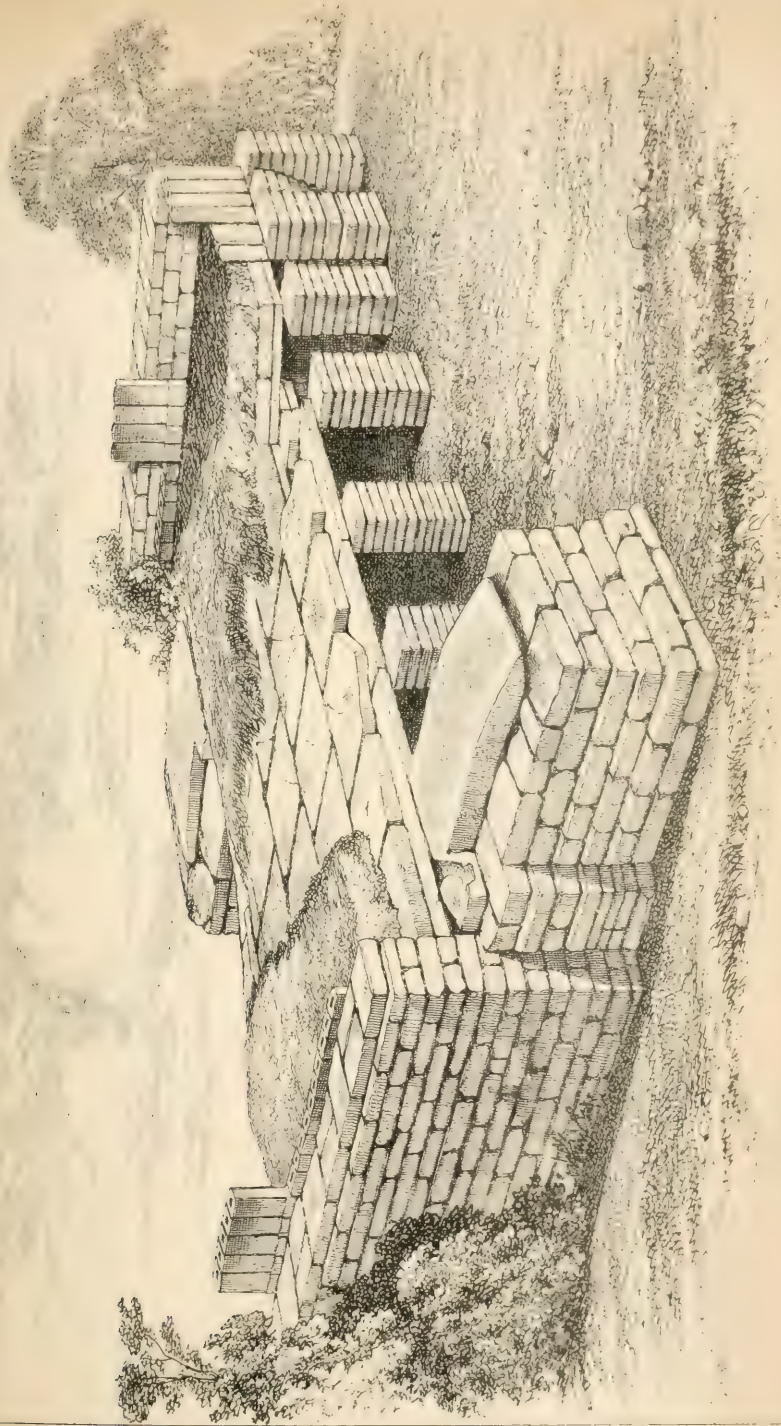
remains of the Roman town were found, and of which Dr. Richardson gave a satisfactory account to Hearne.¹ The coins and foundations of houses discovered at this place were, no doubt, the last remains of the Roman town, which had escaped the changes to which every long-inhabited place is subject. From the name, which is Saxon, we may rightly infer that the town was the centre of a population in Saxon times, as it has been ever since; and that, during the revolution of centuries, every trace of its original form and character had been obliterated. From Cleckheaton the road, forming the present highway, runs by Clifton to Brighouse, where the river was crossed by a ford which is still pointed out; and later, though still in remote times, by a bridge which gave name to the village. At this place the railway and station have entirely altered the immediate neighbourhood; but Gooder-lane, though considerably raised above its former level, represents the true direction of the road. From Brighouse the present turnpike is formed upon, and in some places runs by the side of, the iter through Rastrick. The original road, for some distance towards Fixby, is still remembered by old people as in a line with the modern highway. At Rastrick, actually in the churchyard, but close by the road, is the base of a way-side cross of Saxon work; and in the neighbourhood of the iter, Roman relics and sepulchral urns have been found. From this point the road passes by Castle Hill, Ridge End, and Lindley Moor, to Slack, where the site of Cambodunum has been fixed by the general consent of antiquaries.

At Slack numerous Roman remains have been found. An altar, dedicated to Fortune, was first accidentally seen by Watson in a farmyard in the township of Stainland. The inscription upon it was to the effect that Caius Antonius Modestus, centurion of the sixth, victorious, pious, and faithful legion, had consecrated it to Fortune, and had thus discharged his vow faithfully and willingly. This altar was found by the side of a building at Slack, which proved to be a hypocaust. Further investigation laid bare the evidences of a Roman station. Innumerable Roman bricks and fragments of tiles, inscribed with the words COH. III. BRE. (*co-hors quarta Bretonum*), in commemoration of the fourth regiment of Britain or Britons; and a hypocaust, with re-

¹ See Leland's *Itinerary*, vol. ii, p. 146.

mains of adjacent rooms, were brought to light. (See plate 12, representing the hypocaust, now in the garden of the late B. Haigh Allen, Esq., Greenhill, Huddersfield.) Even at the present day the plough is continually turning up portions of brick and tiles broken into fragments, while the grey stone fences on the land are here and there relieved by the bright red of the Roman brick. The discoveries hitherto made at Slack shew satisfactorily enough that the station there was garrisoned at one time by Roman troops, and that the buildings, so far as we at present know, were mostly constructed by and for the special use of a hardy and veteran soldiery. The encampments which surrounded it also show that it was essentially a military post. Everything as yet discovered is of the rudest description. Not a sculpture nor a fragment of the simplest moulding belonging to a building, not a mosaic or tessellated pavement, not the least portion of Samian ware, or even an inferior kind of pottery, and I believe not a single personal ornament, has yet been brought to light at Slack. We have to wait for the evidences which distinguish a Roman municipal town, in the shape of those elegant relics of classical art which are found at many places on the respective *iters* of Antonine. And certainly the station at Slack is destitute of the true features of Roman castrametation. I think there can be little doubt, from this fact, that the position was originally a *British* stronghold; and that it was wrested from its brave but untaught defenders, and subsequently occupied by a Roman force. No doubt the importance of the remains at Slack, together with the fact of its being on the direct line from Eburacum to Mancunium, entitles it to the preference over Almondbury or Greetland as the site of *Cambodunum*; and, indeed, if the learned Camden had drawn upon some accurate map a straight line from York to Manchester, and without any material deviation had followed the route thus indicated, he might have anticipated by two centuries the subsequent discoveries at Slack; or if the equally learned and far more reliable Horsley had adopted the same method, neither Watson nor Whitaker would have had the opportunity of contending for the honour.

The *iter* at Slack passes the station by Outlane, and forward by Redlane Dyke to Castleshaw; thence to Manchester, having for a great part of the distance the original construc-





tion of the road easily distinguishable. At Rastrick the iter, like some British track, throws off a branch which runs by Elland Lower Edge to Brow Bridge and Lindwell in Greetland. It was on the lingula of land near the latter place, called Thick Hollins, where the celebrated altar which has created so much interest was seen by Camden at Bradley Hall, on his visit to Sir John Saville in the August of 1599, that Horsley was induced, in the absence of the subsequent discoveries at Slack, to fix upon as the site of Cambodunum. The altar was "dedicated by Titus Aurelius Aurelianus to the god of the states of the Brigantes, and of the deities of the emperor, on behalf of himself and his, in grateful remembrance of the success of their undertaking." The altar was thus dedicated at the beginning of the third century, about the time that Severus with his sons Antoninus Caracalla and Septimius Geta subdued the Caledonians. In addition to this relic of pagan devotion there were found on the spot, and in other places thereabout, "divers foundations of houses and some Roman coins, and squared and thick stones with iron nails, in the earth, in divers places of the ground." The late learned author of the *Deanery of Doncaster*¹ has discovered in the Bodleian the manuscript volume relating to the affairs of the manor of Wakefield, from which my extract is taken, and which also contains an account of Camden's visit to Bradley and the discoveries at Thick Hollins. Mr. Hunter, in a communication to the *Archæologia*,² employs the record to prove, in this particular instance, the veracity of Camden, which had been called in question by Watson and others, as to the alleged discovery of the altar at Greetland. By means of the same record, eulogising the sound judgment of Horsley in his selection of this lingula for the site of a Roman station, in the absence of any knowledge of the altar of Aurelianus having been found there, he makes an attempt to revive and substantiate the claim of Greetland to the site of Cambodunum. The remains brought to light at Thick Hollins clearly shew that a Roman station occupied the spot where they were discovered; but I do not think the claim of Greetland to the site of Cambodunum can be sustained. Our lingula, while possessing the natural requisites for a

¹ *South Yorkshire: the History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster*.
By Joseph Hunter. 2 vols. fol. Lond., 1828-31.

² Vol. xxxii, pp. 16-24.



Roman military post, in the command it gives of the valley, whose river flows at its base, is also in sight of the camp at Lee Hill, which is within a short distance of Slack; and, indeed, the horizon is bounded by Holestone Moor, which rises immediately above it. If I may be allowed to offer a conjecture, I should say it is much more likely that the Greetland station was connected with the fortress at Slack as a subordinate outpost. The valley of the Calder was too distant to have been within the immediate reach of the garrison at Slack, and hence the necessity of a detachment at some point having direct command of the valley which formed the course of the principal stream, and still within sight of the main stronghold. There is every reason to believe that a road led from Lee Hill to the station at Thick Hollins, as the traces of such a way still exist. At one point the road is known as the Old Lane, and the remainder of the line has been used from time immemorial. It is scarcely possible that two such stations could have existed so near each other at the same time, without the means of communication; and the ancient road at present between them takes the most direct route for the accomplishment of the object. The station, therefore, at Thick Hollins commanded the valley, while the more important one at Outlane defended the mountain pass; and their comparative proximity enabled the outpost, on a signal given, to obtain reinforcements from the garrison at Slack in a very short time. Indeed, there can be little doubt that the supposed Cambodunum was the centre of the neighbouring defences, having a sufficient force in times of revolt to supply, whenever attacked, the various posts of observation with which it might be connected.

Little now remains at Thick Hollins to arrest the attention or excite the interest of the antiquary. The enclosing and levelling of the waste have obliterated every trace of Roman castrametation; if, indeed, the usual defences were ever needed on a site so well protected from sudden assault by the natural strength of the position. It is more than probable that, on the discovery of the altar, and especially the coins in the reign of Elizabeth, being noised abroad, the cupidity as well as the curiosity of the inhabitants would be excited, and an eager search would follow, in which everything remaining that could be turned to account, either for

building purposes or personal advantage, would be at once removed.

On a visit which I paid to this place rather more than a year since, the remains of several of the "laws," or rough, stony hillocks, mentioned in the Bodleian MS., and under one of which the altar was found, were still *in situ*. There was also a long slip of rough ground, which seemed to indicate the site of a line of houses, broken into hills and hollows, and consisting of loose stones, amongst whose interstices the roots of dwarf hollins had entwined themselves. The *débris* consisted of such loose rubbish and unwrought stones as always remain after the removal of buildings whose available materials have been transported to other sites for subsequent use. On a still more recent visit to this place I found that the work of continued enclosure had completely broken up and levelled even these very faint traces of the station, and that out of the usable materials a new fence was in course of erection; but the remainder, consisting of several cartloads of small stones, had been removed to a hollow place, where there is a pool which is said not to be dry in the longest drought. I noticed that this portion of the *débris*, though only recently exhumed, had at some former period been long exposed to the weather, as they were worn and grey with age; and amongst them I observed some which had been burnt and cracked by the action of fire. Such are the remains of the station at which Titus Aurelianus dedicated his altar, and of the site on which Horsley placed the Cambodunum of Antonine. By whatever name the station at Thick Hollins was known in Roman times, there certainly was no other point between Cleckheaton and Blackstonedge on this branch iter, which commanded the same extent of the valley through which the Calder flows, and at the same time kept in view the lofty ridge at whose base lie the remains of the station at Slack.

The interest which has always been felt in the inquiry as to the true site of Cambodunum, and the controversy it has at all times created amongst the learned, will, I trust, excuse the length of time I have engaged your attention upon it. Horsley, in the pursuit of this inquiry in the neighbourhood of Greetland, on reaching Rastrick followed the branch iter, which retained its pavement all the way to Littleborough at the beginning of the last century. In some parts it

retains it yet, and in others, portions of it may still be seen in the fences which adjoin the renovated trust. Passing Linwell, the hamlet mentioned in the Bodleian MS. as in existence in the reign of Elizabeth, the road corresponds with the present highway, and runs by Greetland Wall Nook, Abbot Road, and Bank Cross. *Indicia* of ancient construction are still visible between the latter point and Ripponden Bank, where, owing to a modern divergence, we have the old road undisturbed. Descending the slope of the hill to the village of Ripponden, the road enters, for a short distance, a portion of another ancient way, which it meets at this point, from Colne to Slack. So convinced was Horsley that he was upon a Roman iter between Rastrick and Ripponden, that he employed Mr. Angier of Denton, a gentleman well versed in such questions, to search about the latter place for a Roman station. Angier was favourably circumstanced for the work, being stationed as a preacher in the district, and knowing the neighbourhood well. He was father-in-law to the celebrated Presbyterian minister, Oliver Heywood, and a man of considerable attainments. His search, however, was fruitless; and the learned author of the *Britannia Romana* did not live to see the doubt which hung over the Greetland altar removed. Our road, passing from Ripponden, runs by the Old Lane, where, within the last few months, the ancient pavement has been removed; thence by Swift Cross Spa, and enters the Ilkley and Manchester road at Westgate Head, in the township of Soyland.

The road from Olicana to Mancunium, which has created so much controversy, crosses through the parish of Halifax from north-east to south-west. The iter enters the parish at Cockhill, in the township of Ovenden. From this point to Hunter's Hill very slight evidences remain to indicate its direction. On the 12th March, 1834, I formed one of a number of gentlemen (being myself the junior of the party) who traced this road from Cockhill to Mount Tabor, in the township of Warley. There were present, among others, the late Mr. Crabtree, the author of the history which bears his name; the late Mr. E. N. Alexander, who was at that time preparing materials for a history of Halifax, larger than any that had been hitherto published, but which he did not live to complete; and the late Mr. Watkinson, of Halifax, who, on the verge of eighty, was the *cicerone* of the party.

There were also with us the late Mr. W. F. Holroyd, and our esteemed townsman, Mr. William Craven. Mr. Watkinson, always interested in these inquiries, had in his youth gone over the Ilkley road, from the Ovenden side of the parish, with Watson, the author of the quarto history of Halifax; and the old guide, who had pointed out the way, was still living in the neighbourhood of Cockhill. There is an interesting note in the Lansdown MSS. on the course of this road, by Warburton the herald. From Ilkley he says that, "having crossed the river Wharfe, it ascended to and crosses Rumbold's Moor, near to the Black Knowle, and then crossing the Addingham road appears again near to Morton Highgate, from which place it disappears until it comes to Hamsworth Shaw upon Harding Moor, where it crosses the way that leads from Bingley to Epworth, taking its course on the inside of the Bounder Stones, and so by Ellaream; and, crossing the wall, appears again in the field of Thomas Horsfield, near to the Wear Stones, little west of the high-road to Halifax; and from thence crosses Denholme Edge, where it was met in digging the foundations of a barn." He says also, in the same note, "that he was further informed by the neighbouring inhabitants that it was continued by Stubden, Foreside, Warside, Hunter's Hill, and over Cold Edge, a little to the east of Midgley to Swilland, and by the Baitings to Littleborough." The personal survey of 1834, which I made, besides several other visits and inquiries, will enable me to extend the information of Warburton; but I regret to say that, unless some unexpected light is thrown upon the subject, some portions of the road between Denholme and Hunter's Hill, or Cold Edge, is decidedly lost. The iter, however, undoubtedly enters the parish of Halifax in the vicinity of Foreside, agreeably to Warburton's note; and John Ambler of that place, farmer, pointed out to me the place from which he had removed the pavement. A faint streak of lighter green was visible some years since in this field, running in the direction of Cockhill. At this place the road enters the Lord's Allotment, where it was faintly visible across the common, much broken up and scattered over with disjointed stones. It was here that the old guide informed us that within his own recollection the pavement was entire. The names of the individuals who have from time to time met with and broken up the pavement,

with the situations in which they were formed from the Lord's Allotment to Hunter's Hill, have been recorded; and on these authorities a good part of the way is known.

At Hunter's Hill there are remains of earthworks, but so broken up and disconnected as to be all but unintelligible. I suspect they are the *vestigia* of an encampment, or intermediate station, like the one at Littleborough, mentioned by Whitaker, on the same iter. The distance from Ilkley to Manchester by this route is, in round numbers, say thirty-nine miles. This distance seems to have been divided into three stages of thirteen miles each; so that we have, at the termination of the first stage from Manchester, the station at Littleborough; and at the same distance from the latter we have the supposed station at Hunter's Hill; while from the last place, and at an equal distance, the third stage is formed at Ilkley. The road passes from Hunter's Hill, and is seen, slightly sunk below the surface, crossing the corner of a field belonging to Mr. Robt. Woodhead of Luddenden. The road having reached Cold Edge accompanies on one side the present turnpike for some distance, and from this point to Littleborough it is for the most part still used. The late Mr. King, of Luddenden, informed me in 1849 (then in his eightieth year), that his grandfather, who lived to an advanced age, had travelled the whole distance from Luddenden to Ilkley by the old road; that, beginning on the Sowerby side (by which we shall have to retrace our steps), the road took by Finche-street, near the bottom of which there was a paved ford over the river Calder; thence, through the fields, the road ascended by Magson House, and forward by Grey Stones to Newland Gate; thence by Clough Head, Tower Hill, Sentry Edge, Houghton Tower, Balkram Edge, where there is a camp, and Hunter's Hill. From this point the road went through the vales of Lower Ings and Skirden, and, ascending by Cockle Hill, went forward to Denholme Gate, and over Rumbles Moor to Ilkley. This is exactly the route taken by Warburton. But the recollections of this family go back to a date anterior to his survey; for they state that in the youth of the elder King's father, the road, though passable, was in many places in a ruinous and broken up condition. Warburton found several portions of it enclosed. From Cold Edge the road passes by Tower Hill, where an interesting discovery was made, some years since,

of a number of British cinerary urns. I described and illustrated several of them in a work entitled *Reliquiæ Antiquæ Eboracenses*, a quarto work published at Leeds in the year 1852. The following extract from the article will explain the nature of the discovery: "They were found in quarrying on Tower Hill; but owing to the nature of the operations, and the unlooked-for discovery of relics by the people employed, it is believed that many similar remains were demolished. On one occasion an urn, bleached by the tempests of an entire winter, was observed to protrude half its own bulk from the stratum of soil in which it had been originally embedded. The curiosity of the labourers was excited, and the relic was removed. It was found to contain fragments of human bones; and as these were supposed to have belonged to an infant foully disposed of, the circumstance was soon noised abroad, and the true nature of the interment explained." I saw some fragments of this urn. It had been constructed of sun-baked clay, and lined with moss and the fibres of plants, which, when the urn had fallen to pieces, firmly adhered to the contents. It had been thirteen or fourteen inches high, and formed apparently by the hand. Within a few yards of this urn, another containing bones and ashes was subsequently found, but so decomposed as to preclude the possibility of its entire preservation. Near the same place a smaller urn was discovered in the dark soil peculiar to the locality. This contained bones and ashes, and had a small clay vessel placed within it, resembling the one found in a similar situation at Upleaton, and in the possession of the late Dr. Young of Whitley. During the winter of 1848 there was a fall of earth into the quarry at Tower Hill. The soil thus precipitated impeded the progress of excavation, and a still larger urn was brought to light; but amongst the *débris* there were observed numerous fragments of other cinerary urns and numerous human relics. Two of the urns found on Tower Hill are in the possession of Mr. J. S. Stott of this town. No doubt this was the site of a primeval cemetery as well as a military post.

From Tower Hill the road passes by Camp End to Newland Gate, where it crosses another ancient road which, to say the least, has ever since the Saxon times passed through this parish from Doncaster to Ribchester. From Newlands

the road passes to Grey Stones, where Daniel Garnet, in the month of June 1861 (then in his ninetieth year), gave me reliable information about the condition of the road from Grey Stones to Hunter's Hill in one direction, and to Sowerby in another, near seventy years ago. About that time he was surveyor of the highroads in the district, and remembered them before their renovation. By his assistance I was enabled to lay down the road accurately on an Ordnance Map, at a portion below Grey Stones where it has been enclosed, and where I could still distinguish it as a line of lighter green than the other grass in the field. From this point the road passes at the back of Magson House. I have in my possession a Roman coin found in the inside of a human skull that had been turned up by the spade in the brow of the hill just above the road at the back of the house. It is a denarius of Septimius Geta, having the head of the emperor and the inscription, PVBLIVS SEPTIMIVS GETA CÆSAR; on the reverse, a female figure in the stola with a sceptre in her right hand and a spear in her left, with the inscription, PROVIDENTIA DEORVM. This may probably have been Charon's customary fee, which by some accidental change in the position of the head had found its way into the cranium. From Magson House the road descended to the river Calder, and crossed it by the ford already mentioned, near the bottom of Fincle-street. Fincle-street has still its pavement entire,—perhaps its original one,—for a good portion of the way. Warburton's route from this point is the correct one: that is, through Sowerby to Mill Bank and Foxon, or more properly Foss'n-lane, in Soyland, where it also crosses the Slack and Colne road. From Foss'n-lane the iter takes a straight course to Baitings, where Warburton marks a camp on his map; and, forming for some distance the modern highway, makes a divergence at Blackcastle Clough, which it enters upon the Devil's Causeway,—a pavement said by the people never to have been laid by human hands!

From Blackcastle Clough, a deep and rugged mountain pass, the road ascends to the summit of Blackston Edge, where, in the July of 1642, Col. Rosworm threw up those defences against the Earl of Newcastle's threatened approach, which still remain, and which are shewn on the six-inch Ordnance Map. The road thence descends to Littleborough, where, on the same map, it is put down as the "Old Pack-

horse road." The pavement from Blackcastle Clough to the crest of the hill, which commands a scene of indescribable grandeur and extent, is almost entirely covered by a thick carpet of heather, which, on being torn up, discloses the pavement entire, shewing indisputable marks of great antiquity. The Ilkley iter passes out of the parish at this point.

There are other ancient roads, to two of which I have alluded in the course of my paper; but the limited time at your disposal will not permit me to enter further upon them now. I may, however, briefly state that one of these has stretched across the country, and intersected our parish, as I have previously said, from Doncaster to Ribchester, at least from the Saxon times. It has upon it the ancient towns of Wakefield, Dewsbury, Halifax, and Burnley, at regular stages; and still retains, as between Doncaster and Wakefield, the names of the street at Street Houses and Tong-street; and between the latter place and Dewsbury the name of Osset-street, together with other evidences of a higher antiquity. The other road from Slack to Colne, mentioned by the two Whitakers,¹ for the greatest part still remains; and the pavement of the long causeway in the township of Sowerby is extremely interesting. In addition to these there are other roads crossing the parish, having claims to great antiquity, but the account of which I must defer to another opportunity.

I fear I have laid too great a tax on your time and patience by the length of my remarks; but I trust the interest which invests the subject, carried as it is, like the roads themselves, far beyond the bounds of the parish they intersect, will palliate, however imperfectly done, the *modus operandi* of the inquiry.

¹ *History of Manchester*, by John Whitaker; 2 vols. 8vo., Lond., 1773. *History of the Parish of Whalley*, by Thos. Whitaker; 4to., Lond., 1818.

HAREWOOD CASTLE.

BY JOHN JONES, ESQ.

HAREWOOD CASTLE is one of those remarkable structures occasionally found in the northern counties, presenting an odd mixture of convenience and magnificence, with cautious designs for protection and defence. It cannot boast of the same historical reputation as Conisborough, Pontefract, or Knaresborough. It occupies little or no place in our national history. Its walls have not immured a king, nor has a prince's blood been shed within its precincts. Like the neighbouring castle of Spofforth, it appears to have been re-erected as a noble residence for the lord of the manor. Its early history is, therefore, somewhat involved in obscurity. Camden, who passed through this part of Yorkshire about the year 1582, states there was a castle here in very early times. He says: "Afterwards the river runs, between the banks of limestone, by Harewood, where I saw a handsome and well fortified castle, which has often changed its lords by the vicissitudes of time. It formerly belonged to the Curecys; but came by their heiress, Alice, to Warin Fitz-Gerald, who married her; whose daughter and coheiress, Margery, was given in marriage, with the fine estate belonging to her, to Baldwin de Rivers, Earl of Devon, who died before his father; afterwards to Faleasius de Brent, by favour of King John, for his good services in pillaging. But upon the death of Isabella de Rivers, Countess of Devon, without issue, this castle fell to Robert de Lisle, son of Warin, as kinsman and coheir. Lastly, by the family of Aldborough, it came to the Rithers."¹

Such is Camden's account, and its correctness has been signally verified by various documents which have passed through my hands.² From this statement it appears that a castle existed at Harewood in early times, certainly prior to the reign of King John; and although no date is fixed, it is

¹ *Britannia*, Gough's ed., vol. iii, p. 7.

² We embrace this opportunity to refer our readers to Mr. Jones's *History and Antiquities of Harewood*, published by Simpkin & Co. The work is well illustrated, and contains also topographical notices of the parish and neighbourhood.

not at all improbable that the original building was erected during the reign of Stephen, who granted permission to the barons to erect castles, and during whose short reign of eighteen years upwards of eleven hundred of them were built in various parts of the kingdom. The present ruin presents no architectural evidences which would lead us back to this period; but Mr. King, in his *History of British Castles*, gives the drawings of two windows which formerly existed, but which unfortunately have disappeared. I see no reason to doubt these drawings; and if so, the style of their architecture evidently points to the Norman and the Norman transition period, and strengthens Camden's statement, that a castle existed here in early times. Although the present ruin is referred to a much later date, it is exceedingly probable that some portion of the original castle is incorporated in the present building, as many parts of the walls of the main body exhibit certain peculiarities in their construction which may be deemed of considerable antiquity. The present edifice is supposed to have been chiefly built about the reign of Edward I or II, and probably completed in the reign of Edward III, if any regard is to be paid to the style of architecture, and if any inferences are to be drawn from the peculiar ornaments in various parts of it. The arms of Aldburgh over the entrance outside appear to indicate who was the improver, if not the rebuilder, of a considerable portion of it. Sir William de Aldburgh, of Aldburgh in Richmondshire, having married Elizabeth, the only daughter of Robert Lord de Lisle, about the year 1327, the castle and manor of Harewood were conceded to him by fine by his brother-in-law, Robert Lord de Lisle of Rougemont. Having made Harewood his chief residence, he set about rebuilding and restoring the castle. The arms of Baliol, king of Scotland, are also placed over the entrance portal in conjunction with Aldburgh, and every historian who has treated of the castle seems to have been puzzled with them. King, Grose, and Whitaker, have imagined that Baliol was entertained here when driven out of his kingdom, and that they were put up to commemorate the visit. In my researches I found several extracts which have materially aided in unravelling this point. In the Harleian MSS., vol. 805, fol. 5, it is stated, "William Aldburgh, messenger of Edward Baliol, king of Scotland." This was a post of high

rank and trust in those days. Other passages in the same MSS. prove that the *family* were on terms of great intimacy with him, and they seem to have clung to the monarch in his adversity as well as in his prosperity. After Baliol had conceded all right to the Scottish crown, he came and resided at Wheatley, near Doncaster, and here Sir William was a close attendant upon the *quondam* king; and in 1362 he gave lands at Willy Haye to the monastery at Beauvale, in Nottinghamshire, for the soul of *his lord*, Edward Baliol, king of Scotland. The arms of Baliol were thrice repeated in the chapel; and from the will of Dame Margery, relict of Sir William de Aldburgh, I find that the monarch's arms were engraved in conjunction with their own upon many of their articles of plate and furniture. All these circumstances, then, go to prove that there was an intimacy of the closest kind existing between them, and that the arms of the monarch were thus used not merely to commemorate a complimentary visit, but as evidences of a friendship which had existed through the vicissitudes of many years,—the same through evil report and good report,—a friendship which appears to have been mutually appreciated and valued. This connexion also accounts, in some measure, for the comparative tranquillity which Harewood and its immediate neighbourhood enjoyed during the frequent incursions of the Scots at that period. In the Dodsworth MSS. (vol. xxviii, fol. 115) I find: “Eccles. de Pannall ad nihil taxatur quia Scoti ibi hospitabantur, et combusserunt in recessu suo.” This took place within a few miles of Harewood, and it is reasonable to conclude that they would naturally spare the mansion and manor of one who was in the service of their own sovereign. Between the coats of arms over the entrance-portal is the Predestinarian motto of the Aldburgs, “Vat sal be sal,” in old monastic characters. Sir William died without male issue, leaving two daughters, between whom his estates were divided,—Elizabeth married to Sir Richard Redman, and Sybil married to Sir William Ryther. The Rythers were a numerous and important family, residing at Ryther Castle in this county; and the Redmans belonged to Redman and Levens in Westmoreland.

It is a singular fact that after the marriage of these co-heiresses, the Rythers and Redmans, during eight descents of the one and nine of the other, seemed to have lived on

such amicable terms that they not only kept the estate undivided, but they appear to have inhabited the castle alternately. The last two inhabitants of the castle were James Ryther and his son and heir Robert Ryther. The former was an esquire to the body of Queen Elizabeth, and a warm and attached friend to Lord Burghley, the celebrated statesman; and the latter retired from Harewood in the year 1620.

How or by what means the castle was dismantled, I have not been able precisely to discover. One account says positively that it was done in the civil wars; another states that the whole of the castle buildings were demolished during the reign of Charles I, but is silent respecting the manner in which they were destroyed. That it was dismantled, I think must be apparent from the fact that it was habitable in 1630; and in 1657, when Sir John Cutler became the purchaser of the estate, it was uninhabitable, and in a decayed state. The condition of the neighbouring towns and villages during this period quite corroborates this opinion. This part of Yorkshire was the scene of severe struggles between the Royalists and Parliamentarians; and by an order issued 26th Feb. 1646, a large number of castles in Yorkshire were dismantled, and made untenable; and as this work of demolition took place a few years after the last occupant of Harewood Castle had left it, it is highly probable that this castle formed one of the number thus destroyed.

Before proceeding to a description of the castle, two of its later lords must be briefly noticed, Lord Strafford and Sir John Cutler. The manor and estates of Gawthorp and Harewood came into possession of Thomas Wentworth, Esq., in 1580, by marriage with Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir William Gascoigne, who inherited the Redman moiety by descent, and the Ryther moiety probably by purchase. This Thomas Wentworth, Esq., was grandfather of the great and unfortunate Earl of Strafford, who was delighted to retire from the bustle and turmoil of public life to his secluded manor at Gawthorpe. Many of his letters are dated from this place, and for years it formed his favourite retreat.

Lord Strafford's son subsequently recovered his father's confiscated estates; but in consequence of the misfortunes of the family during the civil wars, this manor was sold, and Sir John Cutler, a London merchant, became the purchaser.

Sir John was a remarkable man, who had been created a baronet by Charles II for his important services in aiding the Restoration. Pope has satirised him in his *Moral Essays*,¹ and Maude also in his *Verbeia*; and I must add that the traditions respecting his penuriousness and miserly habits are still in existence among the old people in the village. The satire of Pope is exceedingly bitter, and, if founded on fact, would stamp Sir John Cutler as one of the basest and most loathsome characters that ever lived. His memory has been heaped with obloquy and calumny by parties who have reiterated statements without once endeavouring to investigate their veracity. I must refer you to the *History of Harewood* for the facts which I have brought forward in vindication of Sir John Cutler's character; they are too lengthy to introduce into this paper. Suffice it to say that Pope's charges are untrue, unjust, and utterly false. One feature in Sir John Cutler's character I cannot pass over unnoticed. The love and encouragement of science are indubitable marks of a liberal mind, and he gave a noble instance of it. In 1664 he founded a lectureship at Gresham College, and endowed it with £50 *per annum*, settling it upon Professor Hooke for life. The Royal Society elected him a member "in evidence of the great sense they have of his generosity, which they have more reason to value as being the first donation they have been entrusted with of the kind, and which they hope will prove a leading example to others."

From its present remains, the castle appears to form a right-angled parallelogram, having its sides in the direction of the cardinal points of the compass. Two lofty square towers on the south-east and north-east angles form important appendages. Both of these contained four storeys of rooms, and reached to a height of upwards of a hundred feet, commanding from their elevated position a most extensive look-out.

Two other towers seem to have existed,—one on the north side, over the entrance-portal, and a corresponding one on the south side. The principal entrance, and in fact the only one, was upon the north side, leading from the level of the ground inwards into a sort of porch forming the basement of a tower. This portal was high enough for a man to enter

¹ Epist. III.



upon horseback, and was defended by a portecullis, the groove for which is at present in an excellent state of preservation. Inside of this there was another formidable door, apparently of similar dimensions, and constructed as the outer one. This led into the great hall, fifty-five feet long by twenty-nine feet broad, the stone seats round which are still existing where the lord of the manor met his vassals and held his courts, both manorial and judicial. Bondgate still exists, a cluster of cottages near; and about half a mile distant is Gallows Hill, which is not only traditionally preserved among the people, but is marked as such upon an old map in the Estate Office.

The most singular feature in the great hall—and, indeed, in the whole castle—is a recess in the upper part of the south wall.¹ It has all the appearance of a most elaborate tomb; and, in fact, has been described as such by all the earlier writers. Dr. Whitaker was the first to contradict this statement, and in this respect he is most assuredly correct. He says: “If it is a tomb, whose is it? Certainly not the supposed founder of the castle, for he was buried in the parish church. Besides, who ever dreamt in those days of being interred in unconsecrated earth? Or what heir would have permitted so incongruous a circumstance in a scene of conviviality?” The original slab has, however, been removed, and instead of a stone coffin nothing appears but a mass of solid grout work; while instead of kneeling figures of priests or children beneath, appears, on a sort of frieze, a light and elegant enrichment of vine-leaves and grapes. From this last circumstance, combined with its situation near the head of the table, it is undoubtedly an ancient side-board.

Over the entrance-portal was the portecullis-room, communicating by an inner staircase with the great hall, the rooms over it, and also with the chapel or oratory. This chapel is richly ornamented with the arms of the following families: Sutton, Aldburgh, Baliol, Thweng, Bordesley, Constable, Ross, and Vipont. The arms of Aldburgh and Baliol are several times repeated in the chapel. Glover, in his *Survey*, mentions many more, but they have all disappeared. He has carefully delineated the following: Ryther with quarterings, Totheby, Fortibus Earl of Albemarle, Aldburgh,

¹ Engraved in Whitaker's *Loidis et Elmete*, p. 165.

Lord de Lisle, Fitzwilliam, Bellerive, and Redman. He distinctly states that most of these were painted on wood, glass, or metal, and to have had the proper blazonings; whereas those at present existing are all in stone, and not emblazoned at all. Under the western part of the hall was the dungeon, lighted only with one small light; while under the entrance there seems to have been a solitary cell for refractory or condemned prisoners, and an inner prison not lighted at all. The recess and steps into the dungeon are still remaining, and evidences of the door into the inner prison also.

It is superfluous to particularise the various rooms in the building; but there is one remarkable feature which must not pass unnoticed.

By means of passages in the walls every part of the castle was accessible. These passages pervade the whole building, and formed no unimportant part of its economy. By means of them escape could be made to any part of it in time of danger. There appear to have been three sallyports,—one on the north, communicating with the principal staircase; one on the south, communicating with the great hall and the room over it, in a capital state of preservation; and one at the west, apparently communicating with the kitchen.

The last remarkable feature about the castle is the roof. Over the great central room there are manifest marks of a high ridged roof having been let in, but beneath the parapet wall which surrounded it. This roof was so arranged as to leave sufficient room for an external platform on each side upon the leads, defended by an inner and outer parapet, and affording abundant security for moving about in all directions on the leads or platform. This arrangement was for the purpose of defence from attack, and fitted for placing engines of war, or even cannon, which after the time of Edward III were often used, and not unfrequently placed on the tops of high buildings. In the fortieth year of Edward III (A.D. 1367) a license was granted to "*Willielmus de Aldburgh, miles,*" to crenellate "*mansum manerii*" at "*Harwode.*" From this it is evident that the roof was embattled, as in Norman buildings. Between the towers at the east end are the remains of a projection issuing from the roof, from which boiling lead and other missiles might be hurled upon the besiegers in the event of any attack.

In giving this sketch of the history and description of Harewood Castle, I have refrained from even referring to many celebrated men associated with it. Chief Justice Gascoigne was born, lived, died, and buried, almost beneath the shadow of its walls; and his associations were of a most intimate character with the lords of Harewood Castle. It has been a pleasure and a delight to me, and a relief from the sterner duties of my profession, to hunt out and treasure up mementoes of this great man; and it is a reproach to our national biography that no life worthy of him has yet appeared.

The earlier lords of Harewood were of regal descent. I have by me a genealogy compiled by Wm. de Rythre, Esq., of Dublin,—himself not only an ardent antiquary, but probably the last male descendant of the Rythers lords of Harewood,—shewing clearly the descent of the lords of Harewood from Orgar, the father of Elfrida, as well as from King Alfred.

This connexion or identification of the old Saxon monarchs with the lords of Harewood, is an element of no inconsiderable interest in our local antiquities, and I feel sure will be regarded so by this society. Many writers have held that Athelwold was really lord of Harewood in Yorkshire, and my own researches first rendered this doubtful; but even granting that I have succeeded in dispelling the illusions of those who had poetically clung to the impression that Harewood was associated with the murder of Athelwold by King Edgar, A.D. 959, it must yet be conceded that the historic ruin remains invested with that species of interest which is suggested by the fact of its having been for centuries the baronial residence of the posterity of Edulph, son and heir of Orgar, brother of Elfrida, and husband of Elfwina, granddaughter of Alfred.

ON CROMLECHS.

BY THE REV. W. C. LUKIS, M.A., F.S.A.; FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES, COPENHAGEN.

I PROPOSE confining my few remarks upon cromlechs to two points simple in themselves, which yet, as it seems to me, have not received sufficient attention :

I. That *all* cromlechs, of whatever form, are the stone chambers of sepulchral mounds or barrows which still exist or have existed.

II. That the classification of these monuments adopted by some distinguished archæologists has, in my humble opinion, no foundation in fact, but has been introduced by viewing them in the light of their dilapidated and imperfect condition.

I. My first proposition would have startled antiquaries and archæologists of the last and early part of the present century. We can bear to hear it in these days without immediately putting ourselves into an attitude of defence to do battle for favourite theories respecting Druids' altars and the bloody channels upon their inclined stones. The spade and the sieve have scattered to the winds all opinions of their having been erected as altars for religious worship, and for the performances of oblations and sacrifices. A comparison of denuded chambers with those still to be met with buried beneath the earthen or stony mound, has served to reveal their true construction and uses. A man who, in the present day, will gravely maintain that these monuments were not sepulchral chambers, but altars for human sacrifice, runs great risk, if not of being immolated on a cap-stone, yet of being pulled to pieces and thoroughly pounded and smashed on the altar of his own rearing, by archæological gentlemen who, however amiable and gentle they may appear on occasions like the present,¹ are somewhat merciless when they can catch an unlucky propounder of improbable and strange doctrines wandering within the limits of that domain which they are pleased to consider legitimately their own. The day is quite gone by for speculations as to their uses.

¹ Read at the Leeds Congress.

The question to be determined now is as to their *original construction*; *i.e.*, whether they are to be classed in two grand divisions,—those which were buried under mounds, and those which were always exposed to view as we see them now.

I have no hesitation in saying that I adhere to the first view, and that there *never* was such a thing as a cromlech *per se*, apart from its original covering of earth or small stones. I speak here, of course, of stone chambers, recesses, cists, or other receptacles of the dead, artificially constructed. I cannot tell you how it has come to pass that so many have become denuded, though I will say how some have become so; and perhaps it may not be difficult to assign satisfactory reasons for others having lost their covering. I will, therefore, start with this proposition, that *all* cromlechs, commonly so called, are the stone chambers of sepulchral mounds or barrows which exist or have existed.

1. First of all, common sense would lead to this opinion; for the intention of cromlech builders was, no doubt, to construct a sepulchral vault in which the revered remains of relatives and friends might have a safe resting-place. It was a rude attempt, on their part, to form side-walls and a roof capable of sustaining a vast weight of earth, at a period when the art of building both, with small stones cemented together, was unknown. (The arched roofs of New Grange and other similar tombs belong to a later and transitional period.) It might be objected that in doing this they sometimes employed stones which were needlessly large; but I think we may fairly assume that they were obliged, more or less, to build with the materials which came to hand; and that the gigantic labour bestowed upon some of the sepulchres was a true measure of the influence, dignity, and power, which the deceased individuals or chieftains had exercised during life, and of their people's affectionate remembrance of the departed.

Archæologists have stated that the cromlech was the tomb of the rich man, and the simple tumulus of the more lowly. I will admit this to be so for the sake of the argument, although I do not believe it to be strictly true. If, then, the cromlech of the rich man was originally constructed without an earthen covering, if the winds and rains of heaven had free access to the interior through the interstices

of the side and roofing-stones, then it follows that the rich man's body was not so well cared for as that of the more lowly: for the one was protected from the elements,—to say nothing of depredations from hostile tribes and wild beasts,—and the other was not; the one was a perfect and durable construction, the other a most imperfect and unstable one.

I imagine that this view of *exposed* stone chambers has been adopted on the supposition (although it has been nowhere so stated) that the side-stones forming the walls were partially backed with earth, and that the interior of the cromlech was filled in with earth, at the time of the interment; but this, we know, was not the case in the Channel Islands, and I believe I may add, from personal investigation, in Brittany. It is said by Mr. Worsaaë to have been so in Denmark. Upon no other consideration, I think, can this be maintained. There is every reason to suppose that the interior was a chamber tenanted only by the mortal remains, with the usual accompaniments of earthen vessels, arms, implements, and trinkets, of the deceased. It was, in fact, a dark, hollow tomb, capable, in the case of the larger kind, of being entered at pleasure by mourning relations, or attached followers, for the purpose of making offerings to the dead, or of additional interments.

II. In the next place many of these chambered tumuli still exist nearly in the same state in which they were originally constructed. They are found in Brittany and other countries. In Great Britain and in the Channel Islands they are to be seen in a more or less dilapidated condition, but bearing ample evidence of having been covered with earth or small stones. In these instances there can be no doubt as to their original construction, and as to their having been the chambers of tumuli.

Mr. Thomas Wright has written very clearly and ably on this point, and I cannot forbear quoting his remarks: "There is one class of barrows, and those usually large ones, which, when found in this island, all antiquaries seem to agree in ascribing to the Britons,—mounds which contain a rude chamber of rough stones, often of colossal dimensions. In the greater number of instances the superincumbent mound has been removed either for the sake of the earth, or in the belief, prevalent during the middle ages, that treasure was contained under it; and the massive chamber of rough

stones alone has been left standing. Groups of large stones arranged in this manner have been found scattered over various parts of the British islands, as well as in other countries. Our antiquaries have applied to them the name of 'cromlechs'; and have given to them every sort of absurd explanation, the most general of which was that which made them Druids' altars. But recent researches have left no room for doubt that they are *all* sepulchral chambers denuded of their mounds. In fact, they have been found with their original coverings in the Channel Islands, in Brittany, in Ireland, and in England."¹

Mr. Wright then describes the discovery of one of these chambers. About the year 1800, at Lanyon, in the parish of Maddern in Cornwall, "the farmer to whom the land belonged had often cast a longing eye to what appeared an immense heap of rich mould, and at length resolved to clear it away, and spread it over his field.....When they had carried away about a hundred cartloads, the labourers came to a great stone, and, not knowing what this might be, they removed the surrounding earth more carefully, and thus brought to light a large cromlech formed by three upright stones, making three sides of a sepulchral chamber covered with a massive capstone."²

In the year 1839 a cromlech, now called the "Pouque-laye," in the island of Jersey, was uncovered, and the stones laid bare. It is formed by eight upright supporters and a massive covering stone. This denudation is greatly to be deplored, as the stability of the erection has been grievously endangered, and it may some day share the fate of so many others. Numberless well known instances of similar acts of ignorant, shall I not say wanton, demolition might be added. The utterly ruinous condition of so large a number of these monuments, is, no doubt, owing to their having lost that which was the keystone of their stability, viz., their outer covering.

It is a remarkable circumstance that no distinct allusion is to be found in Anglo-Saxon documents, to cromlechs as *visible* stone structures. The late Mr. Kemble was much struck by this, and endeavoured to account for it by observing that the Anglo-Saxons must have "attached no special importance to them." In vol. xiv of the *Journal* of the

¹ Celt, Roman, and Saxon, pp. 50-1.

² Ibid., p. 51.

Archæological Institute, "On Notices of Heathen Interments in the *Codex Diplomaticus*," he remarks: "I think, when we bear in mind how very numerous and widely spread over all England were the stone beds, circles, dolmens, and the like, that the very rare notices of them in these documents is strange and unintelligible. Although it does occur, and more frequently than is generally supposed, it yet bears no proportion at all to the number of references which was made to barrows. I must confess that this appears to me to prove that the Saxons attached no special importance to these stone structures, and did not look upon them as anything peculiarly sacred or extraordinary: not more, in short, than they did any single stone, or set of stones, of great size and venerable antiquity. To these we know they, in common with all Teutonic populations, did devote a civil and religious observance; but I can find very few indications that the Saxons saw any difference between the cromlechs and any other stones; nothing, at any rate, to shew that they considered them with any peculiar reverence."

Instead of leading to Mr. Kemble's conclusion, this absence of allusion to cromlechs affords a fair negative proof of that for which I am contending, viz., that these structures were hid from sight in the barrows. "There is," he adds, "as far as I know, only one very definite allusion to a cromlech, or rather to a stone kist, which, as it stands in a boundary, was of course (?) above ground, and probably resembled the magnificent structure at Coldburn in Kent, which is planted on a hill looking far and wide. The allusion occurs in the boundary of Céoselden (Chiselden) in Wilts,—“of 8am 8orne on 8a stáncysten on Holaucumbe.” Mr. Kemble assumes that this structure was “of course” above ground, as he does also with regard to that at Coldburn. Now as “Holaucumbe” means literally “the hollow hill, the hill with a cavity or chamber in it,” it is clear that the allusion is not to a visible stone structure, but to a chambered tumulus,—a tumulus that was known to contain a stone cist.

It is to be observed, by the way, that almost all the more important stone chambers are in long barrows: *e. g.*, in Brittany there are,—the tumulus of Heléu, 300 feet in length, near Locmariaquer; the Butte de César, 400 feet long; and Gavr' Innis, about 100 feet long; besides others of which I have no measurement. These contain gigantic chambers.

In Wiltshire there are,—the long barrow at West Kennet, 322 feet in length, near Silbury Hill; and two other long barrows, of smaller dimensions, on the downs to the south of it, containing chambers; the long barrow, 188 feet in length, on Tidcombe Hill, which I examined in 1845, and found to contain a stone chamber, which had been overthrown by some earlier explorer. At Rockley, near Marlborough, is a smaller long barrow with a chamber; Lamhill barrow, 160 feet long, contains two stone chambers; at Luckington a long barrow contains a chamber; Lughbury, 180 feet long, near Littleton Drew, has a stone chamber. At West Amesbury there was a long barrow with a chamber; and at Monkton, near Avebury, there was another; but both these have been entirely and ruthlessly swept away. In Gloucestershire, Uley barrow is a long cairn, 120 feet in length; and its chambers are constructed like those of Honey Littleton, near Bath, another long barrow, 107 feet in length. At Nymbsfield near Uley, Boxwell, Avening, Gatcombe, and Duntlesbourne Abbots, in the same county, are long barrows or cairns with chambers. In Yorkshire, in the parish of Sprotborough, near Doncaster, is a long barrow, 130 feet in length, now partially destroyed, in which were two, if not more, stone chambers. In the Channel Islands the chambered tumuli are all *circular*; and so are the remarkable ones of New Grange and Dowth, in Ireland.

II. I will now pass to my second proposition, namely, that the classification, etc.

A classification has been proposed by the distinguished and learned author of a series of articles on "British Remains on Dartmoor," printed in the *Journal* of this Association.¹ He divides them into five kinds :

1. Cromlech proper, or a single cap-stone supported on three upright slabs.

2. Cist-cromlech, or a single cap-stone on four pillars.

3. Many-pillared cromlech, where a single cap-stone is sustained by more than four supporters.

4. Chamber-cromlech; *i.e.*, a chamber formed by four large side-stones supporting a roof of large, flat blocks.

These four kinds belong to his first grand division, and are stone chambers which he supposes were *never* covered with a mound of earth. "I know of none" (*i.e.*, cromlechs

¹ Sir Gardner Wilkinson, vol. xviii, 1862.

of these four kinds) "that have been covered by a tumulus or mound of earth, of which they formed the chamber. Such cromlechs within a tumulus are distinct from these, and I have classed them under the head of "subterranean chambers."¹

5. The fifth kind, which alone belongs to his second grand division, and includes those which had been covered with earth or stones, he calls "subterranean chambers," and considers them to be improperly styled cromlechs. It is thus described: "A chamber lined with large upright slabs, covered with a roof of one stone, and having a passage leading into it, formed in like manner of upright slabs covered by large lintels. Over it has been raised a tumulus of earth," etc.

This classification I must venture to pronounce most unsatisfactory, and to have had no real existence in ancient days; and I will add that I imagine it to have been suggested to the mind of the distinguished author by the presumption that the monuments themselves are now as they were originally constructed, or nearly so; *i.e.*, that *some* were covered with a mound, and others were not. But I have given reasons in the foregoing for supposing that this was not the case, and could not, in the very nature of the thing, have been the case; and I will now shew that, in more than one of the classes proposed by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, he has fallen into error.

I. His first class is opposed by the chamber of the Tumiac, a gigantic tumulus in Brittany, which, although answering to his definition of a "cromlech proper," is nevertheless buried in a mound. It is also opposed by the cromlech at Lanyon, whose discovery in a mound and denudation I have mentioned before.

II. His third class is opposed by the small cromlech on L'Ancrese Common, Guernsey, which has a single cap-stone borne on six supporters, and was originally buried in a mound. The "Pouquelaye," in Jersey, consists of a cap-stone nearly sixteen feet long by thirteen feet wide, supported by eight upright stones, which, when I saw it in 1839, was being uncovered by the removal of the tumulus.

Then in the case of the fifth kind, the definition of a "subterranean chamber" is illustrated by reference to a

¹ *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, March 1862, p. 47.



Guernsey specimen ; but the illustration does not accord with the definition, for the cromlech Du Tus, instead of having its western chamber covered by one large stone, has in fact three large roofing-stones, and the passage leading into it is covered by four others. In fact, the western chambers of all the large cromlechs of the Channel Islands were roofed with more than one stone. The cromlech at L'Ancrese, Guernsey, has five large stones ; the Creux-des-Fées has two stones, the Trépied has three cap-stones. These are the principal Guernsey cromlechs. The Couperon, Jersey, has four such stones. The cromlech discovered by my father in the island of Herm, in the year 1838, has two covering stones ; a second, discovered by him in 1841, has three ; and a third, discovered by him in 1842, has three covering stones. The western chamber of the long barrow at West Kennet, in Wilts, is covered by two stones ; and if we pass into Brittany, we shall find very many similarly constructed.

The truth is, there is no need for any such classification, which, as I have said, arises from a consideration and comparison of them in their partially demolished and imperfect state : *e.g.*, it cannot be confidently affirmed that many of those which have now a single cap-stone supported by three uprights, had not originally the open side closed in by a fourth stone. *All* such stone chambers, whether called cist, kistvaen, dolmen, or cromlech, are or were "subterranean" in the sense of having been enclosed in a mound. They should be classed in two divisions only : 1. Simple chambers, which will include all which were formed by a single roofing stone supported by three or more side-stones ; and 11. Chambers with passages or covered ways leading into them ; but such classification must not be made without reference to the *form* of the tumulus, whenever it can be ascertained, because, as I have stated, these chambers had originally no existence apart from the covering mound.

Now here I end my brief remarks upon the construction and classification of cromlechs ; and I will close with a word or two on the *nomenclature* relating to these monuments.

British archæologists have been accustomed to apply the word "cromlech" to these denuded chambers ; but it would be very desirable if they could agree to get rid of it altogether, for two reasons : 1. Because it is inexpressive, and

originated in a misconception. II. Because both the Danish and French antiquaries interpret it each in a different way from the British: the former applying it to the entire structure in its perfect condition,—tumulus, chamber, and outer circle of stones (which they call *steendysser*); the latter to a circle of stones only.

A generally recognised nomenclature is, no doubt, as desirable in archæology as in all branches of natural history; and the want of it, with respect to these monuments, gives rise to some inconvenience, if not to mistakes. The attempts which have been made by our archæological ancestors to interpret the word, and shew its application to these structures, prove how inexpressive and inapplicable it is: *e. g.*, what idea does “inclined or bending stone” convey? In fact, it has been a question long in dispute, whether the bending alluded to the *form* and *position* of the roofing stone, or to the *body* of the pagan worshipper; some antiquaries leaning to the one view, and some to the other.

Now it seems to me to be very evident why these covering stones should be inclined: *i.e.*, why there should be ample head-room allowed for a person standing in the inner chamber, and so small a height in the passage, gradually diminishing from the inner chamber to the outer extremity of the passage. The inner chamber usually occupied the centre of the tumulus, in the case of round tumuli, where there was a greater covering of earth; and as the depth of the earth diminished in the slope, until it died away at the outer circumference, so it was necessary that the covered way, roofed with rough stones, should be accommodated to the diminishing depth of the superincumbent earth. In the L’Aneresse cromlech, on the hill, the height of the entrance was barely three feet, whereas in the inner chamber the height was at least seven feet. And that this was the real construction is further evident by the different relative heights of the side-walling stones of the passage and of the inner chamber.

We could understand the meaning of the word “cromlech,” and it would be far more applicable, if it were derived from the Welsh *cromen*, a “dome” or “cupola,” *i.e.*, a domed stone or vault; but it is not very probable that it was so derived.

The Danish application of the word is certainly nearest

to the truth; and if it must be retained, then antiquaries should agree to employ it in the same sense. If not, the word "tumulus" is sufficiently comprehensive to embrace all these structures; and *chambered* and *unchambered tumuli* would designate the two great classes into which all such sepulchres might be divided. Thus :

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|
| I. Chambered | { Round } | a. Without covered ways or passages. |
| tumuli | { Long } | b. With covered ways or passages. |
| II. Unchambered | { Round } | |
| | { Long } | |

I will merely add this further remark, that there are so many other most interesting and remarkable features connected with these wonderful works of our Celtic forefathers, that it would be quite out of the question to attempt to touch upon them in the necessarily limited period that should be occupied by any one paper on occasions like the present. They are deserving of the careful attention of archæologists, as tending to throw great light upon the physical energy, indomitable perseverance, extraordinary mechanical skill, religious feelings, ceremonial observances, and so on, of these peoples. There are the rude engravings which are found on many of these monuments, and which are now properly claiming the notice of archæologists, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. There are the side-chambers, or subsequent additions to the original construction, evidencing a long period of tribal settlement; and, where carefully investigated, altered habits and burial customs. There are a number of other points which time does not allow me even to mention; so that I feel sure you will agree with me, that we are all still mere babes in the knowledge of these matters. My object has been to endeavour, if possible, to lay a solid foundation on which to erect a superstructure of information which will guide us clearly and unmistakably in the always difficult task of unraveling the truth when it lies concealed in the darkness of a pre-historic age. If I have succeeded in convincing you, as I feel convinced myself, that this foundation is well laid, I shall be satisfied with my humble labours.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 196.)

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16.

THIS day's proceedings commenced with an excursion to Ripon and Studley Royal by special train, which, with upwards of a hundred members and visitors, arrived at Ripon at 10½ A.M. The chapel of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene was the first object of attraction. This ancient chapel was built in 1132, and enlarged in the fifteenth century. It was, however, always of very diminutive proportions, and used as a place of worship by an adjoining hospital for lepers. It was subsequently devoted to a lay sisterhood, and is now appropriated to the hospital for six poor women. The annual income was £40 originally; but the property upon which it is dependent has so increased, that it is now stated to amount to £1,400. The chapel contains one of the four high altars of stone to be met with in this county. In front of the altar is an Anglo-Roman tessellated pavement in a fine condition. There is also a strong ancient chest deposited near the chancel, which contains Dean Waddilove's wooden bell.¹

From this chapel, the party, under the guidance of Mr. C. E. Davis, proceeded to the cathedral, where they were received by the Very Rev. Dr. Goode, Dean of Ripon, who expressed his regret that the west end of the nave was obstructed by the temporary wood-work erected to enclose the nave for purposes of divine worship during the restoration

¹ A writer in *Notes and Queries* (Nov. 28, 1863) states that he, with three or four others, lingered behind to examine the chest, and that through a large hole in the lid they noticed the bell, which, on opening the chest, they found to be of wood. A lady of the party thereupon related to them a story as follows: "Having been present at the recent re-opening of the church, she saw this bell, and on inquiring its history was informed by a woman living near, that a dignitary of the church of Ripon being in want of a dinner-bell, took one of the bells of this little church for that purpose, and had the wooden bell hung up in its place!" It is difficult to explain how it came to be mixed up with the name of Dean Waddilove, who was living within the last twenty or thirty years.

of the chancel now in progress. Mr. Davis, however, contrived to point out the peculiarities of the architecture and the principal features of the building. This was said to have been founded at the time of the Conquest; but the Society having recently visited Ely and Winchester cathedrals, which were no doubt of that period, the members would agree with him that there was nothing at Ripon which could be regarded as of that date. He assigned the principal part of the building to the years 1154 to 1187, during the time of Roger, Archbishop of York, who was a large benefactor to it. Throughout the building the capitals had hollows underneath to produce a square, which was very unusual in Norman columns, and was not met with in the south of England. The transept was of the same date as the nave; but he thought it was designed at a different time. The roof was modern; but formerly was flat, as at Peterborough. Some of the windows had been filled up to give additional stability to the tower. In 1660 a spire fell, and destroyed the original roof. It was said the tower fell, but he did not believe it; and that it was only felt necessary to strengthen the tower, or intended to construct a larger one, as was seen at Worcester. At the same date the screen was erected, and it was a beautiful work worthy of careful examination. He pointed out where he thought the extent of the original church terminated. The building went on gradually enlarging from 1284. Taking the party into the choir, Mr. Davis said the east window, which was perhaps one of the most beautiful and admirably designed in England, was erected from 1230 to 1250. He had been led to understand that, in restoring the fabric, it was intended to raise the height of the eastern gable and pinnacles; but the Dean said the gable and pinnacles were only to be restored to the original height. After giving a minute account of the salient points in the interior of the choir, which he did most clearly, notwithstanding that it was all in confusion through the builders' operations which were going on, Mr. Davis added that, about 1300 the choir was tolerably perfect; but in 1319 there was an incursion by the Scots, and the windows and roofs were destroyed. In 1459 the edifice was very much decayed, and an indulgence was granted to raise the funds for its repair. It was said in 1512 the church was in ruins; but he believed the remark only referred to the unfinished state of the north aisle.

St. Wilfred's Needle in the crypt beneath the eastern end of the nave, which Mr. Davis said had existed from before the Conquest, and the Bone House, were visited; and after some remarks on the exterior of the eastern end of the church, which Mr. Davis said was the most beautiful part of it, and like to which there was nothing in any other church, he held up to particular admiration the Perpendicular work at the west end, which he considered as the richest in its way to be met with in England.

The inspection of the cathedral¹ being concluded, the party proceeded to Studley. The weather being fine, a most enchanting scene presented itself; and, after an inspection of Fountains Hall (now occupied as a residence, and formerly connected with the abbey), they entered the ruins, and were most courteously received by the Earl and Countess de Grey and Ripon, who, with Lady Adene Cowper, Mr. Sydney Osborne, Capt. Smith, and others, accompanied the associates, attending minutely to the very lucid description given by Mr. Gordon M. Hills, which will appear, with a large plan and appropriate illustrations, together with the paper read at the previous evening's meeting, in the next part of the *Collectanea Archaeologica*. More than two hours having been expended in this interesting examination, Dr. Lee, on the part of the Association, expressed their thanks to the architects, Mr. Gordon Hills and Mr. Davis, for their discourses; and also specially to the Earl de Grey and his Countess for their kind permission to view the grounds, and the honour of their attendance.

The Earl acknowledged the compliment, and said that he felt highly gratified in receiving the Association. He had naturally studied a good deal the history of that abbey; but, notwithstanding, Mr. Hills, in his able illustration, had raised many questions of very great interest and importance. He felt a deep interest in that beautiful and magnificent building; and he was, perhaps, not unnaturally proud of what he believed, at all events, to be one of the most beautiful abbeys in the country.

The party then returned to Ripon, and thence to Leeds. An evening meeting was held at the Rooms of the Philosophical Hall, the President in the chair, when Mr. John Jones read a paper on Harewood Castle (see pp. 220-227 *ante*); and Mr. O'Callaghan delivered the following remarks:

ON HISTORICAL AUTOGRAPHS.

"I believe it will be generally admitted by all who are qualified to form an authoritative opinion on the subject, that our national history is very incomplete, and that some of the most important events in its annals are shrouded in obscurity and mystery. The chief cause of this undoubted fact is that the materials for the compilation of a detailed and reliable record are too widely dispersed, and often so difficult to decipher, that the average life of man would make but a small portion of the time absolutely required for the accomplishment of such an

¹ Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which the cathedral was seen, it is yet hoped that Mr. Davis will be able shortly to render the Association a satisfactory statement in regard to this sacred and interesting edifice. Drawings have been made with this view, and will, it is hoped, be submitted to our readers.

undertaking. I believe that such a work, to be made available at all times for satisfactory reference, must be the production of the united labours of several competent scholars prosecuting their special researches in separate directions.

“About a hundred and sixty years ago the royal historiographer to King William III, Thomas Rymer, a native of Northallerton in this county, published his voluminous and valuable work called the *Fœdera*. Since that time until the year 1858 no systematic attempt had been made to examine and collate the early records and documents in our national repositories. These treasures are now undergoing a diligent revision by order of the Government, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls; and they are from time to time compiled into volumes, printed, and given to the public. But this great national work is necessarily confined to the official documents in the Government archives; so that, useful and valuable as this compilation undoubtedly is as a work of reference, it is, after all, little more than an extension of Rymer's work, which only included treaties and conventions, as its title indicated. A thorough acquaintance with the manners and customs, the arts and the literature, and the moral condition of society through its various phases, in the lapse of centuries, cannot be acquired without an examination and study of contemporary documents, and especially those of a private and domestic character. Without such materials it is impossible for the historian to trace the motives of human actions, to view the times of which he undertakes to write, as they were seen by those who lived in them; or to form a correct estimate of contemporary opinion. Under such disadvantages he will be led too often by his individual feelings and prejudices to philosophise, as he calls it, or to generalise,—that is, to classify and arrange facts in accordance with his own peculiar theories. His dreamy ideas will, therefore, be too often visionary, and his conclusions absolutely false. Most valuable collections of the materials to which I have referred, especially in illustration of modern history, have been brought within our reach during the present century. For instance, the *Paston Letters*, Sir Henry Ellis's three *Series of Letters*, Burke's *Epistolary Illustrations of English History*, the great French work, the *Isographie*, or fac-simile transcripts of letters taken chiefly from the Bibliothèque Impériale; and our own English works, in fac-simile, by the Netherclifts; *The Rutland and Losely Papers*, and the interesting correspondence of the Fairfaxes. But perhaps no single work to which I could allude in this hurried sketch has done so much for the illustration of the most obscure period of the history of England, as the able and learned work of our respected secretary, Mr. Thomas Wright. I mean, of course, in relation to the manners, customs, and sentiments, of the people of this country during the middle ages.

“For the purpose of procuring materials for such a reliable work as I have been referring to, no source of information should be overlooked. Not only the government repositories and the ecclesiastical and municipal archives should be consulted, but likewise the unexplored mines in the muniment rooms of our old nobility and gentry, and the curious treasures in private collections. The historian will thus ascertain very often that a single letter, even a short entry in a bill of expenditure, will oblige him to confess his mistaken estimate of the character of some illustrious personage, or of the cause which he had previously assigned to some important historical event.

“In illustration of these observations I have ventured to bring under the notice of this learned assembly a few documents and letters selected from my own collection, and which I am not without hope may be found generally interesting on this occasion. The first document which I shall submit to your notice is the oldest in my collection. It is an official attestation, called in old law-language a ‘Vidimus.’ That is, it certifies that it had seen our King Henry III performing an act of allegiance and homage to Louis IX of France (Saint Louis) in the year 1259. I have not been able as yet to find any detailed record of this important event. Hume, and those who follow him, make no allusion to it. Neither Rymer nor Speed notice it. The President Henault, the famous French annalist, simply mentions the occurrence, but gives us no particulars. Nangis, in his voluminous folio work, the *Annals of St. Louis*, tells us that Henry of England came over to Paris, with several nobles and prelates, in 1259; that he was hospitably entertained on that occasion by the King of France, and that he gave generous gifts of gold and silver articles to several of the religious houses in Paris. But the chronicler says that he could not learn any particulars of the business transacted on this occasion, as he could find no documents or other materials from which he could obtain such information. It is written upon paper, and signed by Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury; Godfrey de Kinton, Archbishop of York, and treasurer to the king; Benedict de Gravesend, Bishop of Lincoln; Simon de Winton, Bishop of Norwich; Henry de Wingham, Bishop Elect of London; Robert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester; William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle; Peter de Montfort, son of Simon de Montfort, Speaker of the first House of Commons; John de Baliol, Baron of Galloway, the founder of Baliol College, Oxford; and John Lord Mansell, the Lord Keeper.”

Amongst the other ancient MSS. exhibited by Mr. O’Callaghan was a letter from King John of France, when a prisoner of Edward the Black Prince in Windsor Castle; letters from Charles V, son of the above; Charles of Orleans, Henry VII, Henry VIII, Mary Queen of Scots, Admiral Blake, etc.

Mr. T. Wright, in the absence of the author, read Mr. John James's paper "On the Little British Kingdom of Elmet and the Region of Loidis" (see pp. 34-38 *ante*); after which the Rev. C. Lukis read a paper "On Cromlechs" (see pp. 228-237 *ante*). Upon these several papers observations were made; and the meeting, after voting their thanks to Mr. Jones, Mr. O'Callaghan, Mr. James, and the Rev. Mr. Lukis, adjourned at a late hour.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17.

By an early train the Association proceeded to Kirkstall to view the remains of the Abbey, under the guidance of Mr. Edward Roberts, who briefly referred to the history of the edifice; reserving a full account, with illustrations, to be given in the publications of the Association. He, however, pointed out with great clearness its architectural arrangements; he indicated all the points of interest in the church, the aisles, the transepts, choir, large cloister, with the hospitium, chapter house, refectory, abbot's house, workshops, etc. The general character of the structure, he said, was like that of Fountains Abbey, and there had never been any great departure from the original plans. In the large cloister there is a very distinct echo, which was strikingly manifested during the time Mr. Roberts was speaking in the place, his words being repeated with singular distinctness. In various parts of the ruins there are deep cuttings, which Mr. Roberts said were the drains; and in referring to the sanitary arrangements, he described them as being of so perfect a character as to put the people of this generation to the blush.

Returning to Leeds from Kirkstall, a General Meeting was held at the Philosophical Hall,

LORD HOUGHTON, PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR,

who said the agreeable task devolved upon him of returning their best thanks to the Mayor and Corporation of Leeds for the manner in which they had received the Association on Monday last, and for the continued assistance the Mayor and Corporation had given them during their residence in the borough. He hoped that, at the same time, the visit of the Association to Leeds would prove beneficial to the inhabitants themselves by tending to direct their attention to the objects for which the Society was instituted,—the acquisition of facts for the foundation of truthful history. While actively engaged in the laudable and honourable pursuit of acquiring wealth, it would afford a delightful means of recreation to study the relics of past ages, and to assist in collecting materials from the store which the neighbourhood offers, and

by which additional light may be thrown on the history of former times. There had been read to them some papers, and if time had allowed there would have been others, respecting the history and antiquity of Leeds and the neighbourhood; but he hoped enough had been read to them to stimulate them to future inquiry in reference to the great archaeological treasures which they possessed in the town and neighbourhood, and which he was sure they would avail themselves of. In a large town like that they saw many, by means of their own intelligence and skill, accumulating wealth which would be a comfort and an honour to their families in time to come; yet those commercial pursuits tended, to some extent, to distract the attention from pursuits such as those carried on by that Society. But he had found, in the course of a somewhat extensive experience, that it was the men who had most to do, who had most time to spare. He always found that it was the idle man who had no time for anything; and therefore it was no reason that, because they were industrious in their own pursuits, they should not also be industrious in others. He would suggest to them to cultivate pursuits of an archaeological character; and he was sure they would find in that society a channel from which, on the one hand, to derive much information, and on the other hand the Society would be glad to receive from them all the information which they could impart. Intercourse with that Society would enable them to pursue their researches in a more methodical manner than they could if alone; and when occasion arose they would be told plainly, sometimes disagreeably, that things they thought remarkable were not at all so, but had been discovered long ago. Those were incidents commonly met with in the pursuit of truth; not only archaeological truth, but truth in all the pursuits of life. Archaeology was the true foundation of history, and it behoved them to study it with a will, and to endeavour to attain success. Again he returned to the Mayor and Corporation his thanks for the kind manner in which they had received the Association, and placed at their disposal that magnificent Town Hall.

Mr. R. N. Philipps seconded the proposition, and described the pleasure he had felt in visiting that locality. They had taken short trips from Leeds, and had walked on pavements which the Romans of old had laid, and had been in the abodes which were occupied nearly two thousand years ago. They had seen the neighbouring castles, and that morning had visited the Abbey at Kirkstall; and they could almost fancy that in the rustling of the leaves which were now falling in the autumn breeze, they could hear the sigh of a mighty spirit of bygone times lamenting over the desolation which now pervaded that scene of ancient magnificence.

The acknowledgment having been carried with acclamation,—

The Mayor (Mr. J. O. March) said that the Corporation received with a very high degree of satisfaction the sentiments which had been expressed, which they regarded not merely as a compliment, but as a sincere expression of their feelings. He assured the Association that the Corporation esteemed it a privilege and honour to receive that Society, as it afforded to the people of Leeds an opportunity of enjoying the association of the learned gentlemen composing that Society. The Corporation would feel amply rewarded if, on leaving the town, the Association retained feelings of respect for it; and he hoped that though there was a murky, smoky atmosphere, the Association had discovered that the inhabitants had retained something of old English hospitality. He thanked the Association for the compliment just paid to the Corporation; and he proposed that thanks be given to Lord Houghton for the valuable services he had rendered during the sittings of the Association in Leeds.

Alderman Kitson seconded the proposition, and said they would be glad to be favoured with another visit from the Association at an early date.

Lord Houghton responded to the vote, and cordially wished the town every prosperity.

Thanks were then voted to the Archbishop of York and Earl Fitzwilliam, the patrons of the Congress; to the Rev. Dr. Hincks, the President, and Council of the Philosophical Society, for the use of their Hall; to Peter O'Callaghan, Esq., Secretary, and Mr. H. Denny, Assistant Secretary; to the ladies and gentlemen who have so liberally entertained the Association; to the Archbishop and clergy; to the authors of papers; to the Council of the Leeds Club; to the Officers and Committee of the Association, etc.

It was then announced that in the afternoon the party would proceed to Halifax; and on Monday pay a visit to York, to which they had been most kindly invited by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the Dean and Chapter of the Minster, and the President and Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, whose extensive Museum it was their especial object to inspect.

Quitting Leeds, therefore, by the Great Northern Railway, the Association entered upon their excursion to Halifax; on their arrival proceeding to the Town Hall, where they were most courteously received by John Crossley, Esq., the Mayor, and other members of the Corporation, who, having expressed their satisfaction at receiving the Association, and named the objects proposed to be visited, conducted the members and visitors to partake of an elegant luncheon that had been prepared.

Thanks having been returned for this hospitality, a meeting was

held in the Council Room, where Mr. F. A. Leyland read a paper "On the Roman Roads which intersected Halifax." (See pp. 205-219 *ante*.) Thanks having been voted to the author for his most excellent paper, and the careful exactness of the map by which it was illustrated, the Association proceeded to inspect the celebrated Halifax Gibbet, the axe, manacles, etc., belonging to which had been previously exhibited by Mr. F. Lumb, deputy steward of the lord of the manor of Wakefield, on occasion of the visit paid to Wakefield, where they had been preserved.

The gibbet is enclosed with ivy-covered walls, and situate in Gibbet-lane. The place where this engine of torture and of death once stood is now marked by a grassy mound. Mr. Leyland stated that that relic of the gibbet constituted the scaffold on which the stern sentences of their customary law were executed. The capital punishments were effected, as they would be aware, by an axe made to slide in the grooves of two upright posts placed apart a little more than the width of the axe. This was rather fixed in a heavy wooden stock by means of two bolts which passed through the holes in the upper part of the axe. The first person who was executed was Richard Bentley of Sowerby, who was beheaded on the 20th March, 1541; and the last two, John Wilkinson and Anthony Mitchell, on the 30th April, 1650. Watson states that, of the number who underwent capital punishment at that gibbet, five were executed in the last six years of Henry VIII, none in the reigns of Edward and Mary, twenty-five in the reign of Elizabeth, seven in the reign of James I, ten in the reign of Charles I, and two during the interregnum; but those figures were not correct, as some names had been added to Watson's list. Those remains had been for many years so completely buried under a mound of earth as to be forgotten; and when the trustees of Halifax purchased it, the plot of land received the name of "Gibbet Hill." In levelling the rubbish, the scaffold had been brought to light; and at the request of parties interested, the remains had been preserved. The thanks of archaeologists were due to the trustees for the interest they had taken in the preservation of those remains. On a later occasion, when the site of the scaffold was destined to be used for the extension of waterworks, Major Waterhouse of Halifax, the hon. Member for Pontefract, with that public spirit which distinguished his mayoralty, at his own expense protected it from further injury. Mr. Leyland then drew attention to the pillory, remarking that persons were punished in it who were accused of blasphemy; and the last person who was remembered to have been punished by it, was pilloried in the Market Place, and afterwards pelted with rotten oranges and eggs.

The company then proceeded to inspect the People's Park, for which the town is indebted to the liberality of Sir Fras. Crossley, Bart., M.P.,

after which the Association, under the able guidance of the Mayor and Mr. Leyland, inspected the parish church, an account of which, it is hoped, may appear in a future number of the *Journal*. The first church was built in Saxon times, and remained till about 1260, when another edifice was erected on the site; the north wall of the nave of the Saxon church being incorporated with the building, and existing to the present time, and in all probability prescribing the length of the first church. About 1450, during Dr. Wilkinson's vicarage, the church was considerably enlarged, the choir being added at that time. The windows on each side of the choir are remarkable for their geometrical leading, and were regarded by all present as beautiful. The other points of interest connected with the sacred edifice having been pointed out, the Mayor and Mr. Leyland were thanked for their kind attention, and the excursionists returned by the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway to Leeds.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 19.

This day was set apart as an addition to the Congress by the very kind invitation of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, and the obliging attention of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of York and the dignitaries of the Minster. By special train the Association arrived at York by 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ A.M.; and according to the arrangements made by the managers of the Philosophical Society, the following route was as far as practicable pursued, though, from the number of objects to be examined within a limited time, the attention of the members became necessarily somewhat divided:

“From the Railway Station, by the New Bridge, to the Museum and grounds of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.¹

“St. Leonard's Hospital—Roman wall and multangular tower—antiquities in the Hall, Council Room, and Library—remains of St. Mary's Abbey—The Great Gateway and its appendages—The Hospitium—British, Roman, Saxon, and mediæval antiquities.

“Return over the New Bridge—the walls—Micklegate Bar—the churches of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary Bishophill, Younger and Elder—the Old Baile. Cross by the New Walk Ferry—The Castle—Clifford's Tower and the Chapel—the walls to Walmgate Bar and the Red Tower.

“In Walmgate: St. Margaret's porch, removed from St. Nicholas's Church, without Walmgate Bar—the porch of St. Denys's Church.

¹ Our readers are referred to a condensed descriptive account of the antiquities contained in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, drawn up by an original member of the Association, and a contributor to our *Journal*, the late Rev Charles Wellbeloved; a fourth edition of which was published in 1861, with additions by the Rev. J. Kenrick.

In Fossigate: Hall of Merchant Adventurers. In Pavement: Church of All Saints, with tower, ancient knocker.

“In Spurriergate: St. Michael’s Church. In Coney-street: The George Inn—St. Martin’s Church, stained glass—The Mansion House and Guildhall—the Corporation records and regalia—St. Helen’s Church.”

The crypt of the Minster, by the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter, was lighted for inspection by the members of the Association at 2.30; and the Vestry, with Archbishop Zouch’s Chapel (containing the records of the archbishopric), the choir, and Chapter House, were open to the visitors. The Minster Library—MSS. and early printed books—remains of the palace of Archbishop Roger.

Several objects of antiquarian interest, not included in the above route, were mentioned as worthy of attention: Cloisters of the Hospital of St. Peter, in St. Leonard’s Place, under the portico of the Theatre—vaults of the King’s Manor, on the original site of the Chapter House of St. Mary’s Abbey—remains of the Abbot’s Lodgings in the Wilberforce School for the Blind—Royal arms and those of Lord Strafford.

The church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey in the Minster Yard—College of St. William, formerly occupied by the choristers, near the east end of the Minster—The Bedern, Goodramgate, formerly occupied by the vicars choral—the church of All Saints, North-street, stained glass.

On these, it is to be hoped, communications will be at some future time received, and appear in the *Journal*.

The party were received by the Rev. J. Kenrick, M.A., F.S.A., the Curator of Antiquities in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, at which they had arrived, having crossed the river Ouse by a bridge of great architectural beauty, recently erected by a member of the Council of the Association, Thomas Page, Esq., in the style of the new Westminster Bridge by the same eminent engineer. Mr. Kenrick conducted the members through the Museum, pointing out the principal objects in antiquities, especially Roman, worthy of attention. They then visited the ruins of St. Leonard’s Hospital, on the right of the entrance to the Museum gardens. The foundation of this religious house has been ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon king, Athelstan, who, returning from a successful expedition against the Scots in 936, granted a piece of ground to some poor monks that they might build a hospital, which likewise he endowed. The existing remains of this interesting establishment are, the ambulatory, the chapel, and entrance-passage.

Adjoining St. Leonard’s Hospital a portion of the old city wall was noticed. Thence the party proceeded to a structure of great archaeological interest, the Multangular Tower, a Roman work of about the middle of the third century, when it formed one of the angle towers of the walls of Eboracum; and next the ruins of St. Mary’s Abbey, which

the Yorkshire Society only a few years ago rescued from destruction by enclosing it within their beautiful grounds; this magnificent relic of a once powerful monastery having been left in such an unprotected state that, as one gentleman present acknowledged he had done in his youth, boys were wont to provide stones for the formation of "rock-eries" from the ruins of the abbey. Mr. E. Roberts pointed out, in a portion of the ruins, a curious pillar, which, architecturally, he described as a mass of contradictions. He expressed the opinion that the building of which it had formed part was erected about 1210-1220, and that it had been worked up with some elaborately carved stone of fifty years later. Some of the sculptures about the bases of the pier are almost as pure and classical as Roman. Mr. Roberts suggested that the *Early English* arch in the Museum originally spanned this opening; and on a subsequent measurement he stated that this appeared to have been the fact, for not only did the arch correspond in width, but each rib also fitted exactly. This confirmed him in the view he had at first taken of the piers, namely that some sculptured stones of Norman work were adapted to the *Early English* building; and this singular combination was one of which he had met with no other example.

The Hospitium, in which are displayed a vast collection of fragments of Roman pottery, and many other antiquities of Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and other periods, discovered near York, was next visited; and the remarkable tessellated pavement presented by Sir George Wombwell, Bart., and found at Oulston, near Easingwold. Its present length is twenty-three feet; but it had originally extended to thirty-six feet, and had evidently been the floor of a corridor in a Roman villa.

Passing across the Ouse, the party entered the Castle yard, and visited Clifford's Tower, so called after the first governor. Mr. H. Webster, the deputy governor of the Castle, courteously gave a history of the tower. It was said to have been erected in 1068 by William the Conqueror, and was intended as a fort to protect the city walls. Round the upper portion it was fortified with cannon, which remained until 1684, when the magazine and all its contents were blown up by the soldiery. It was in this tower that, in 1190, no less than fifteen hundred Jews destroyed themselves, dreading that the persecuting spirit which then animated the public mind against that unhappy people, and which had exhibited itself in most brutal cruelties in the south, would extend towards the northern parts of the kingdom.

The Guildhall was the next place visited; and Mr. Roberts, in explanation, stated that it was generally believed the building was of the date of Henry V; but if the windows were to be taken as an original part of it, the hall must have been built at least a reign later, the pillars and roof being still later. The windows had been restored, probably about the time of Queen Anne or of the early Georges. The

west window appeared to belong to the end of the seventeenth century.

The party were then conducted to the Mansion House, where the Lord Mayor (Mr. W. F. Clarke) and the Lady Mayoress received them in the State Room. The insignia and the gold and silver plate of the city were exhibited, and examined with interest. Considerable curiosity was felt in the "cap of maintenance" presented by Richard II to the first lord mayor, when he gave to the city its corporate charter. This cap is still worn by the mace-bearer on state occasions, and its unique and dilapidated condition never fails to create a reverent smile. The members of the Society were afterwards entertained by the Lord Mayor in the Mansion House, with a sumptuous luncheon; at the conclusion of which Dr. Lee, on behalf of the Society, returned their most respectful and grateful thanks to his Lordship and the Lady Mayoress for the admirable manner in which they had received them. They had done all in their power to show the curiosities of the city, and had provided them also with a most sumptuous and elegant repast. The reception the Society had met with wherever they had gone in Yorkshire had been most gratifying and satisfactory.

The Lord Mayor, in reply, said it had given his wife and himself great pleasure to receive the Society, his only regret being that the time was so short; but if they were ever to go to York, and make that city their head-quarters, he was certain they should do all in their power to receive them worthily.

The party concluded their inspection by a visit to the crypt of the Cathedral, where the Dean joined them. The time for the examination of the Minster was so limited, that, with the advantage of the lighting of the crypt, by the kindness of the Dean and Chapter, that part of the building was resorted to as if by common consent; Mr. John Brown, author of an elaborate work on the Minster, acting as guide. Mr. Roberts having been appealed to for his opinions, premised that he could only give those he had formed from a short inspection of the remains, not having prepared himself for a critical account by a study of the works of Professor Willis and Mr. Brown. He, however, pointed out the exquisite late NORMAN piers, the arches and arch-ribs of which have been destroyed for the lowering of the floor of the choir. The former level of the Norman choir was about sixteen or seventeen feet above the floor of the crypt. The outer wall of the crypt, that is, beyond the portion which Mr. Brown had pointed out as a SAXON walling, he found to be a very perfect and beautiful EARLY ENGLISH plinth,¹ appearing to be about the date 1190. This is remarkable for having a

¹ This plinth Mr. Brown describes in his *History* as NORMAN. Professor Willis infers it to be the work of Archbishop Roger, circa 1200; but he still calls it part of the NORMAN cathedral.

mason's mark, so far as he was, by the light of a single candle, able to see, on the outer face of every stone of the work. Some of these were quite different from any others known, and will form a subject for future consideration.

The remains of Saxon steps from the choir to the nave, in the centre of the crypt, were examined, and Mr. Roberts pointed out the resemblance to the descriptions given of the early basilica in the account of Brixworth Church (see *Journal*, vol. xix, p. 285 *et seq.*). These steps undoubtedly led from the "Confession" to the nave in the centre, while the ascents from the nave to the choir were at the sides. The former plan (NORMAN) of the Minster was undoubtedly of the basilican character, and terminated at the end by apses.

Thus satisfactorily terminated the Leeds Congress.

Proceedings of the Association.

FEBRUARY 24.

NATHANIEL GOULD, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were elected associates :

Donald Nicoll, Esq., Oaklands Hall, West End Park.
 William Collins, M.D., 1, Albert-square, Regent's Park.
 Rev. F. Hudson, Bridge House, Caledonian-road.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Author. The Coins of the Ancient Britons arranged and described by John Evans, F.S.A., F.G.S.; and engraved by F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. Lond., 1864. 8vo.

„ „ Brief Description of the Town of Hadleigh in the County of Suffolk; its History and Antiquities. By E. Levien, M.A., F.S.A. Hadleigh, 1853. 12mo.

To the Society. The Journal of the Royal Dublin Society. No. XXX. July 1863. 8vo.

„ „ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. IV. Part 2. Edinb., 1863. 4to.

Mr. H. H. Burnell exhibited fifteen brass pins, varying in length from one inch and three-eighths to five inches and a half, stated to have been found on the paper on which they now are, in a cellar on the northern bank of the Thames, in excavating for the foundations of the South Eastern Railway bridge. Most, if not all, of these pins have solid globose heads.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited two brass pins recovered from the mud of the Thames some years since. One is little less than two inches and a half in length, the other full seven inches and three quarters long. The heads of both are formed with spiral wire; the shortest being globose, the other somewhat flattened. Mr. Cuming stated that quantities of such early pins as those now produced have been found in and

along the banks of the river, some of them measuring upwards of a foot in length. These great pins may have been employed in securing the wide-spreading head-dresses of the middle ages, and fastening the ends of the pillow-case,—a use not quite obsolete in the time of Swift, who speaks of “corking pins” for this purpose in his *Directions to Servants*.

The title of “pin-money” for the allowance made by a husband to a wife for her own special use, shews the important place which this little implement held in the domestic economy of the middle ages; and yet as an article of foreign commerce pins are not mentioned in our statutes till 1483. Stow assigns their first manufacture in England to the year 1543; and they seem then to have been so badly made that in the thirty-fourth year of King Henry VIII (1542-3), Parliament enacted that none should be sold unless they be “double-headed, and have the headdes sondered faste to the shanke of the pynne,” etc. This act appears to have produced no good effect, for in the thirty-seventh year of the same reign it was repealed. After reciting the former one, the act of repeal goes on to state: “At which tyme the pynners playnly promised to serve the kynges liege people wel & sufficiently, & at a reasonable price. And for as much sens the makying of the saide act there hath ben scareitee of pynnes within this realme that the kynges liege people have not ben wel nor competently served of such pynnes, nor ar like to be served, nor the pynners of this realme (as it doeth nowe manifestly appere) be hable to serve the people of this realme accordyng to their saied promise. In consideration whereof it maie please the kyng, &c., that it maie be adjudged & demed from henceforth frustrated and nihilated, & to be repealed for ever.”

The pin-makers of former days seem to have been a body somewhat difficult to please, of whom Guillim¹ writes: “The Society of Pinners and Needlers how ancient, or whether incorporated, I find not; but only that in the year 1597 they petition'd the Lord Treasurer against the bringing in of foreign pins and needles, which did much prejudice these callings.”

Pennant, in his description of old London bridge, states that “most of the houses were tenanted by pin or needle-makers, and economical ladies were wont to drive from the St. James' end of the town to make cheap purchases.” This fact may account for the vast quantity of early pins which have been recovered from the Thames near the site of the venerable structure.

Mr. Pettigrew sent for exhibition some fine specimens of silver bracteates, presented to him by Mrs. Kerr, who had obtained them during her late tour in Germany; and upon which Mr. Cuming read the following paper:

¹ Display of Heraldry, *sub* “Honour Civil,” p. 17.

NUMMI BRACTEATI.

“Much uncertainty attends the origin and antiquity of the bracteate coins, or spangle-money; a species of mediæval currency, which may be briefly described as exceedingly thin discs of metal stamped in a die, so that the device appears in *relief* on the face, and *incuse* on the back. This curious class of coinage must not be confounded with other ancient moneys produced in a similar way, such as that of the Græco-Italian cities, Caulonia, Crotona, Metapontum, Posidonia, Siris, Sybaris, and Tarentum; a few of the denarii of the Furia family, and some of the copper of the Indo-Sassanian princes; nor with the results of accidents of every age and country, where a blank has been placed by mistake above a perfect coin in the die, thus receiving only the *obv.* or *rev.* in cameo and intaglio. The *nummi bracteati* is distinct from all such incuse pieces, and their origin must be sought for in a different direction.

“The use of ancient money for personal decoration greatly prevailed in early times amongst the Teutonic tribes of Scandinavia, more especially in Denmark, where we find pendants formed of the gold coins of Constantine the Great, Leo, Anastasius, Justinianus, and some of the later eastern emperors, as also the Kufic money of the kaliphs.¹ The value and rarity of such pieces, and the fact that but one side could be exhibited at a time, seem to have suggested to the northern goldsmith to imitate them in bracteates of both gold and silver. The first copied the *obv.* of ancient money as well as his rude skill would permit, and then tried his hand at new devices and combinations. Thus we meet with palpable exceptions of Roman types surrounded by Runic legends; but the majority of bracteates manifest original design, some representing intercoiled serpents, though large profile busts were evidently the favourite subjects.² We know full well that in early times rings and other personal ornaments served the purpose of die-struck currency; and the transition from the bracteate trinket to the bracteate money is so simple and obvious that we are warranted in believing the first to have been the parent of the second,—a belief strengthened, if not confirmed, by the fact that trinket-bracteates are far more numerous in Denmark than in any other country; and that it is here that some of the earliest spangle-money is met with, some of which dates as far back as the middle of the eleventh century, if not even earlier. Olinger Jacobæus, in his *Catalogue* of the royal collection at Copenhagen (tab. XL), gives engravings of silver bracteates with profile crowned busts,

¹ For a notice of pendants formed of coins, see *Journal*, xvii, 324.

² A fine Danish bracteate of gold, with profile bust, was discovered in the parish of St. Giles, Oxon, which, though certainly not later than the commencement of the tenth century, has frequently been cited as a *touch-piece* of Edward the Confessor. (See *Gent. Mag.*, Aug. 1796, p. 639.)

Item in bracelettis	4 0
Item 2 twilles of purle	6
Item 4 paire of plaine boothose at 10 <i>d.</i> per paire	3 4
Item 4 paire of wrought boothose at 2 <i>s.</i> the paire	8 0
Item 1 fustion wascote	2 6
Item 2 guilded brushes	1 8
Item 4 small gilded brushes	2 0
Item 3 brushes	1 0
Item 2 haire heade brushes	8
Item 7 heath brushes	4 0
Item 2 dossen and halfe of broade twill tape	3 9
Item 4 dossen of narrow twill'd incle	2 8
Item 5 remland of felitinge	2 0
Item 1 paire of boothose toppes	2 0
Item 14 cawles and stowmachers	2 4
Item for handkercher buttons	2 8
Item 2 silke cawles	1 8
Item 8 walnott purses at	2 0
Item 26 yeardes of tynsile reben	3 4
Item 10 yeardes of small tynsell reben	8
Item 2 imbrothered and one plaine purse, and a paire of gloves in a walnott shell	4 0
Item 2 yeardes of narrow lomeworke	6
Item 1 wrought purse with suite for a weoman	10 0
Item 1 velvet purse and suite	5 0
Item 3 girdelles for childeren	6
Item 1 silver and gold cawle	2 0
Item 2 coper cawles	1 6
Item 18 velvett and sattan maskes	5 0
Item 7 tafitie maskes	2 4
Item 15 garnish of silver and gold handker buttons, and 2 remiand lace	3 0
Item 14 dressinges and skewers	1 2
Item 3 pendantes	6 8
Item 8 bodkins	8
Item 1 box of spangles and bewgles	2 6
Item 1 lb. 10 oz. of white threade at 8 <i>s.</i> per pound	13 0
Item 4 oz. of course white threade	1 0
Item 2 swedling beltes	1 6
Item 2 lb. 5 oz. of aulcume purle	1 3 0
Item 2 oz. of silver and gold purle at 4 <i>s.</i> per ounce	8 0
Item 3 ruffes	7 6
Item 1 dossen and the halfe of shirtbands	10 0
Item 1 dossen of handcuffes	3 0
Item in wires, curles, rebarters and rowles	3 4
Item 3 dossen of bondgrases	1 0
Item 5 paire leather bodes	5 0
Item 13 steele stickes	2 6
Item 10 smoothing irons	3 4

Item 3 dossen of fine cardes	4	6
Item 3 dossen and half of corse matteris	2	11
Item 5 amber ringes		10
Item white paper halfe a reame	2	0
Item 2 lb. of licoresse		10
Item 1 lb. of worme seede	6	0
Item 11 oz. of browne mace	5	9
Item in small sinymond and ginger	1	0
Item 14 oz. of pepper	1	4
Item 1 q'r of a cwt. and 9 lb. of white starch at 24s. per cwt.	8	0
Item 22 lb. of powder blewe at 5d. per lb.	9	2
Item 12 boxes	4	0
Item muster seede in Peeter Cottans handes, which he sold and hath money	5	0
Item 1 drawinge table	1	0 0
Item 1 cubberte at	14	0
Item 2 litle tables	5	0
Item 6 stowles	6	0
Item 2 lowe stowles	1	0
Item 6 sett worke cushinges	4	0
Item 2 wainscott chaires	5	0
Item 3 throwne chayres and 1 wanded chaire	3	0

Some total 30 17 5."

A discussion ensued upon the meaning of several of the terms employed in the foregoing inventory, and upon the comparative costliness of clothing with that of the prices of the present day, having regard to the rate of wages and the price of corn.

Mr. George Wentworth transmitted a photograph and account of

HEATH OLD HALL.

"It is situated a little to the north-east of one of the most beautiful villages in Yorkshire (Heath), and is built upon a steep ascent on the southern bank of the Calder. From authentic documents now in the possession of its owner, Colonel Smyth, it is ascertained to have been erected by John Kaye (usually described as of Oakenshaw), a son of the heiress of Dodsworth. His wife's arms quartered with those of Kaye (which were two bendlets *sable*), and, carved in stone, may still be seen over the principal entrance. The Hall and lands adjacent were purchased of the Kayes by Dame Mary Bolles, who was created a baronetess in her own right. This Lady Bolles was one of the daughters of William Witham of Ledstone in Yorkshire. She was married twice, first to Thomas Jobson of Cudworth, and secondly to Thomas Bolles of Asbarstone in the county of Nottingham. In the time of the civil wars Heath Hall was in her possession; and it is said that the day before the capture of Wakefield by Sir Thomas Fairfax,

May 21, 1643, General Goring and other officers had been spending a very jolly evening at Heath Hall, amusing themselves with bowls and other sports; and that they drank so freely on the occasion as to be incapable of properly attending to the defence of the town when the enemy approached early in the morning.

“ Dame Mary Bolles died the 5th day of May, 1662, at Heath Hall, being above eighty years of age. Tradition affirms that, previously to her death, she left strict injunctions that the room in which she breathed her last should be walled up for ever. If common rumour speaks true, this injunction was scrupulously observed for a period of fifty years after her decease. It was subsequently opened; and such was the effect produced upon the departed lady, that the villagers say she has never been able to rest in her grave since. She was buried in the south choir of the parish church of All Saints, Ledsham, where there is a stately monument in white marble erected to her memory. She is represented on the monument in her winding-sheet. The inscription on it is as follows: ‘ Here under lyeth interred the body of the Right Worshipful Dame Mary Bolles, of Heath Hall in the county of York, Baronetess, one of the daughters of William Witham of the worshipful and ancient family of the Withams of Leadstone Hall in the county aforesaid, Esq., who married to her first husband, Thomas Jobson of Cudworth in the said county, Esq., by whom she had issue, Thomas Jobson, Esq., and Elizabeth, who married Thomas Sherre-brooke of Oxon in the county of Nottingham, Esq. The said Dame Mary Bolles had to her second husband Thomas Bolles of Asbarstone in the county of Nottingham, Esq., by whom she had issue, Anne, who married the right worshipful Sir William Dalston of Dalston in the county of Cumberland, Knight and Baronet; and Mary, who married Thomas Legh of Adlington in the county of Chester, Esq. The said Dame Mary Bolles, being above eighty years of age, departed this mortal life at Heath Hall aforesaid, the 5 day of May, in the year of our Lord 1662.’

“ The benefactions of Lady Bolles were considerable, particularly to Wakefield. Her daughter Anne having married Sir William Dalston, Heath Hall and the adjacent lands passed into the possession of the family of that name, and became their chief seat for many generations. The arms of the Dalstons were, *argent* a chevron engrailed between three daws’ heads erased *sable*, beaked *or*. Crest, out of a ducal coronet a falcon’s head proper. Sir William had a son, Sir John, who also had a son, Sir Charles, possessor of Heath Hall, married first to Susan, daughter of Sir Francis Blake of Ford Castle in Cumberland; and secondly to Ann, third daughter of Sir Michael Wentworth of Woolley, Knight, and relict of Sir Lionel Pilkington of Stanley. Both the marriage settlements of Sir Charles are preserved at Woolley, and also

several letters of Lady Ann Dalston. Lady Ann survived her husband, Sir Charles, and was married thirdly to John Maude, commonly called 'Lawyer Maude,' of Alverthorpe near Wakefield. She died on the 15th August, 1764, at Chevet, and was buried in the church of All Saints at Wakefield. The Dalstons were also connected by marriage with the Ramsdens of Byram as well as with the Wentworths. Sir George Dalston, the last of the Dalstons who had Heath, left no male issue, but only a daughter, Elizabeth, married to Captain Theobald Dillon. At her decease, leaving no issue, agreeably with the will of her father, Sir George Dalston, the Hall came to his nephew, Francis Fauquier, Esq., and his heirs male; in default of such to William Fauquier, Esq., whose son William sold it to the Hon. John Smyth, grandfather of the present possessor, J. G. Smyth, Esq.

"The style of the architecture of the Hall appears to be Elizabethan. Within the memory of many persons now living, this ancient mansion was tenanted by a sisterhood of French nuns of the order of St. Benedict, who, to escape the terrible evils of intestine war at a time when the whole continent of Europe was convulsed, left their native land and sought retirement in this sequestered spot. Eight individuals of this religious order lie buried in the adjacent village churchyard of Storkthorpe."

MARCH 9.

JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were given for the following presents :

- To the Society.* Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 61. 8vo.
 " " Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society. No. 42. 8vo.
 " " Journal of the Archæological Institute. No. 79. 8vo.
To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for March. 8vo.

Mr. Wm. Powell exhibited a pint vessel of the form of the old bellarmine, but destitute of ornament; the character of glaze indicating it to be of the seventeenth century. It was found at Deptford, Feb. 1864.

Mr. Cuming has a galonier, thirteen inches and a half high, of the same contour as the above, also of the seventeenth century. Such vessels as these were frequently called "Dutchmen," from the Low Countries being their place of manufacture. (See *Journal*, xvi, 356.)

Mr. John Taylor exhibited a Danish brooch of the tenth century, found in Quart Pot Lane, Northampton. It is of brass, but in all other respects precisely similar to one of white metal engraved in the *Journal* (xviii, 226, fig. 8). One, probably from the same mould, is sketched

in the *Reports* of the Suffolk Archaeological Society, and was found in that county at Icklingworth (?).

Mr. C. Brent exhibited a circular brooch of lead, one inch and five-eighths in circumference, lately discovered in the Steelyard, presenting the peculiar character of both sides equally decorated in low relief, though with different designs. The device on the front consists of a central knob surrounded by thirteen pellets enclosed by a hoop of rays, from which emanate a star of ten points with a pellet between each; the whole bordered by a double circle of rays like the hoop in the middle of the field. The back of the brooch has on it a large cross pattée resembling the crosses on some of the money of Edward the Confessor, and between each limb is a crosslet, the whole verged by three circles of rays. The pin moved between staples, and had its point held by a curved piece cast with the rest of the trinket. This rare relic belongs to the first half of the eleventh century, and differs considerably in design from the circular leaden brooches engraved in the *Journal* (ii, 312).

Mr. Irvine exhibited a claw-hammer of iron, both the head and long socketed stem being annulated in a very ornamental manner; the latter having a broad, spiral band half way down, and a fillet near the base, inscribed STEPHEN WALLIS.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming produced a claw-hammer similar to the above, but of rather more robust make, and having a name on the fillet, too much injured by rust to be read with certainty. It was recovered from the Thames in 1849. These decorated hammers are considered to have been wrought about the end of the sixteenth or early part of the seventeenth century, and probably for the service of the tapestry hangers or "upholders," who, from the time of Henry VII, formed part of the royal household. The duty was performed by six yeomen of the guard, and the title of "yeomen hangers" was retained long after tapestry ceased to be employed.

Mr. Irvine exhibited a pocket *solarium*, or ring-dial, of brass, of like kind to those described in Mr. Cuming's paper,¹ and bearing the maker's name, I. HANCOCK. It was found in the parish of Chilfrome, Dorset. It seems that such *horologia* were called by some "journey-rings"; for thus writes Horman in his *Vulgaria* (1520): "There be journey-rynges and instruments lyke an hangynge pyler, with a tunge lylling oute, to know what time of the day." The large ring-dial of silver of Charles I, was made by M. De la Main.² The small example of brass in Mr. Cuming's cabinet is by T. Ruth; and such *solaria* continued in use down to the middle of the reign of George III, the latest manufacturers being Messrs. Proctor of Milk-street, Sheffield.

Mr. Blashill exhibited a pair of pendants composed of brass, each

¹ *Journal*, xix, 71.

² *Ib.* xi, 230.

consisting of a perpendicular chain of round links, from which diverge two chains for the support of a lunate bar, to which are linked seventeen delicate, flat, perforated drops, calling to mind the *burck* attached to the ear-rings and other trinkets of the Egyptian ladies. Across the lunate is a wire, on which slide two little hollow hemispheres. These elegant pendants are stated to have been found in the Thames; but it may be a question whether they be not of oriental origin, forming portions of a head-ornament of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Gunston exhibited three curious badges found in London. The earliest is of the thirteenth century, and was dug up in Moorfields. It is a small heater-shaped shield of copper, charged on either side with three lions passant, and has a loop at one edge, near the upper corner. The examples displaying these arms, enumerated in Mr. H. Syer Cuming's paper, "On Heraldic Badges" (read May 27, 1863), have the lions on one side only, indicating that it was the visible portion; but both fields of the present specimen were evidently exposed to view, and the little escutcheon was probably suspended to a bugle, possibly of the royal huntsman. The straps of the borstal and wirral horns are decorated with plaques of heraldic devices.

The second specimen was found in the Thames, and is a sleeve-badge of latten, engraved with the arms of France and England quarterly, ensigned by an open crown or coronet. It has two perforations on each side, and one at the base, to admit the studs or rivets by which it was fixed to the doublet of a royal retainer of the fifteenth century.

The third is a medallion-badge of copper thinly plated with gold, found in 1863 at Shoreditch. *Obv.*, laureled bust to the left in armour, with the initials T. R. on the shoulder, and inscribed GEORGIVS II. REX.; *rev.*, a gentleman in the act of drawing an arrow at a stag, the two figures divided by a palm tree. It has a little loop at the edge for suspension, and was doubtlessly worn as a badge by a member of some toxophilite society.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following remarks:

ON ARCHERS' BADGES.

"From an early period the successful archer seems to have been rewarded with some sort of badge; differing, however, considerably in intrinsic value and design; and, at least in one instance, of anything but a suitable character. Hansard, in his *Book of Archery* (p. 115), speaking of the target, says: 'The smallest possible honour arises from hitting the corners within the circles; and the person who does this is presented, by very ancient custom, with a *horn spoon*, which he must wear in the button-hole of his coat until won from him by the next archer who plants an arrow in the same division of the target.' Whatever may have been the origin of this strange custom, it certainly was

not intended as a mark of contempt ; but the spoon was really given and accepted as an honourable ensign.

“ Of more costly material and more appropriate design than the foregoing was the prize offered by the ‘Sherif of Notynglam’ for the best shot, as recorded in the *Mery Geste of Robyn Hode* :

‘A ryght good *arrow* he shal have,
The shaft of *sylver* white,
The head and fethers of riche red *gold*,
In England is none lyke.’

A *silver arrow* has long been the favourite form of prize awarded to the skilful toxophilite, and that of Musselburgh claims special notice. This ancient badge is about a foot in length, was originally gilt, and from it depend several medals and escutcheons, the earliest being of gold, and inscribed with the following lamentation :

‘When Ardrose was a man
He could not be peald ;
At the old sport he wan,
When Ardrose was a man.
But now he neither may nor can.
Alas ! he is faild.
When Ardrose was a man
He could not be peald.’

“ Another plate displays the arms of Johnston of Elphinston, with the motto ‘Guid them,’ and the date 1603. If the prize were won three years in succession by the same individual, it appears to have been the property of the winner ; one of the shields appended bearing record that ‘This arrow has been 3 tymes wine by Robert Dobie of Stonihill, and now gifted by him till the town of Musselburgh, 1649.’ The silver arrow of Musselburgh continued to be contended for by the Royal Company of Scottish archers as late as the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

“ In olden times there were other devices besides spoons and arrows offered as prizes for good archery. The Bernal Collection contained a beautiful badge, silver-gilt, representing a cross-bow set with stones ; having on it four figures, the principal one being St. Sebastian, the patron of archers. It is inscribed with the following dates and letters, 1551, A.P. 1554, A.P. ; and DONAVIT, 1565. This relic is stated to have been worn by the captain or marshal of a fraternity of toxophilites.

“ One of the favourite sports of the archer was shooting at the pop-injay ; and it seems that a representation of the bird was adopted as a prize in the sixteenth century, for the Hon. Robert Curzon has a silver-gilt badge of this form depending from a chain, and attached to it a plaque bearing the winner’s name, Willem van Hoorn, 1592. This bird

is crowned, and measures seven inches in length. A curious mention of this mark is made by Sir Robert Dallington in his *View of France in 1598*. He says: 'Concerning their shooting with the crosse-bowe, it is used, but not very commonly. Once in a yere there is in each city a shooting with the peece at a popinjay of wood set upon some high steeple; as also they doe in many places of Germany. He that hitteth it downe is called 'The King' for that year, and is free from all taxe. Besides, he is allowed twenty crownes towards the making of a collation for the rest of the shooters. And if it happen that three yeres together he carry the prize, he is free from all taxe and imposition whatsoever all his life after.'

During the Commonwealth, archery, like other sports and pastimes, suffered an eclipse in England, but again shewed itself in full vigour at the Restoration; and in the year 1676 Sir Edward Hungerford, with others, contributed towards a silver-gilt badge weighing twenty-two ounces, to be worn by the marshal of the Fraternity of Bowmen, which in honour of Katherine of Braganza bore the legend, REGINE CATHARINE SAGITTARI, with the figure of a man about to let fly his arrow.¹

Of more humble material than the foregoing badges, but still of singular interest, is the example I now produce, representing the horn-bow of classic contour, measuring three inches and seven-eighths from tip to tip, and charged with a barbed and feathered arrow three inches and a half long; both being wrought out of a stout plate of brass, which appears to have been gilt, and suspended by a steel ring passing through the shaft just below the nock. The bow is drilled at each end to permit medals or escutcheons to be hung to it, in like way as they hang to the Musselburgh arrow. This rare toxophilite bauble is of the seventeenth century, and was, like the cross-bow of the Bernal cabinet, worn by the chief of a fraternity.

"With this badge I also exhibit an archer's hat-button, or stud, of about the same age. It is of brass, seven-eighths of an inch in diameter; and seemingly represents the slouched hat of the seventeenth century, the flat crown crossed by a barbed and feathered arrow. This little relie did not, perhaps, indicate the rank of the wearer, but was rather the cognisance of the fraternity to which he belonged. It was dug up in the Temple in 1845, and in all probability is from the hat of one of the attorneys or proctors whose shooting matches are celebrated by Sir William D'Avenant in his poem entitled *The Long Vacation in London*, in which he says:

'Each with solemn oath agree
To meet in Fields of Finsburie:
With loynes in canvas bow-case tyde;
Whose arrows sticke with mickle pride.

¹ Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, ed. 1838, p. 69.

With *hats pin'd up*, and bow in hand,
 All day most fiercely there they stand,
 Like ghosts of Adam Bell and Clymme,—
 Sol sets for fear they 'll shoot at him.'

Finsbury Fields was the most famous shooting-ground north of the Thames; but the archers also practised at Spitalfields, Shoreditch, Islington, Hoxton, Shacklewell, and Pancras; and in the south of London in St. George's Fields and Newington Butts. From some of these localities the best marksmen received the mock titles of earls and marquises; and the place of discovery of Mr. Gunston's medallion-badge brings to mind the designation of 'Duke of Shoreditch' bestowed on one Barlow by King Henry VIII; which name was long afterwards granted or assumed by those well skilled in the art and mystery of the
 —'peculiar weapon of our land,
 Graceful yet sturdy bow.'"

Mr. Planché read a paper on an effigy of one of the Markenfield family in Ripon Cathedral, which will be printed and illustrated in the next *Journal*.

MARCH 23.

T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Hartley W. Burgess, Esq., 16, Walbrook;

J. A. Bone, Esq., Monument Chambers, Fish-street Hill,

were elected associates.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:

From the Architectural Museum. Report and Correspondence relative to the Formation of a National Museum of Architecture. Folio. 1863.

From the Institute. The Canadian Journal for Jan. 1864. No. 49. 8vo.

Mr. Baigent, in a letter to the Treasurer, dated Winchester, Feb. 23rd, 1864, communicated as follows:

"Yesterday I went to see some human remains which had just been discovered, or rather, I should say, disturbed by the frost, which had caused a portion of an embankment to give way, bringing down with the chalk soil two or three skeletons, and leaving others half exposed to view. The interments were not many feet below the surface; and the bodies were laid in rows, all lying east and west, with the arms bent over the chest, the hands as in the attitude of prayer. I saw some beautiful teeth, together with the fragments of a skull of unusual thickness, and nearly all the bones that pertain to the human skeleton. The bodies were all buried without coffins. One skull, though some-

what injured, was so remarkably fine as to induce me to make a rough sketch of it, which I transmit for the Association. It presents the profile of a part of a skull found with other human remains upon a portion of land near the Railway Station, Winchester, formerly the site of the church and cemetery of St. Anastasius. The church of St. Anastasius is mentioned in my paper on the parish church of Wyke, published in the *Journal* for September 1863. This church was united to that of Wyke in the fifteenth century; and though I have seen innumerable wills from the year 1500, I have in no single instance met with an injunction on the part of a testator to be buried in the churchyard or cemetery of St. Anastasius. This induces me to believe that it had ceased to be a place of sepulture more than three hundred and fifty years ago. I have frequently come across charters mentioning this burial-ground. In one now before me, without date, but from the style of writing as well as the name of one of the attesting witnesses, may be assigned to about the year 1280, is described a certain tenement granted to Simon Draper, as being '*ex apposito cimiterii Sancti Anastasii.*'"

Mr. Pettigrew and Mr. Cuming regarded the skull as decidedly Saxon; and the Chairman embraced this opportunity to lay before the meeting the greater portions of the radius and ulna of the left forearm sent to him by Mr. Baigent, who had received them from a labourer who had exhumed a quantity of human remains from the spot above mentioned. These bones are of a delicate and slender texture, but of perfect formation; and were, he conceived, part of the body of a Roman female who had been buried without a coffin, but having at her wrist a bronze armilla. As the flesh decomposed, the ornament fell into contact with the bones which it encircled, and to which it had given a deep tinge of green, precisely such as has been found upon bones found in a copper mine, a specimen of which from Llandudno (in a drawing by Miss Fennell) the Chairman exhibited. The armilla is devoid of ornament, if we except a few lines at the extremities. It has preserved its elasticity, and altogether presents an interesting specimen of sepulchral interment.¹

Lord Boston exhibited an alto-relievo of gypseous alabaster, five inches and three quarters high by seven inches wide, being a portion of the *predella* of an altar-piece. The subject is allegorical of life and death. An almost nude genius is seated on the ground, resting its right arm on a skull, and holding a shell in the left hand, in which he seems to be catching two balls, one half the size of the other. At the feet stands a gilded egg-shaped vase, from which dark blue clouds of

¹ At the late Congress a radius and ulna, having no less than seven similar armillæ, were seen in the museum at Colchester Castle, belonging to the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen. Another specimen, with one armilla, is in the Ipswich Museum.

incense arise. At the opposite side of the tableau grows a gilded lily with tall green leaves, whilst broad-pointed red and green leaves are on the ground. The field is of a light blue tint, contrasting well with the colourless figure and skull. This rare example of polychromic sculpture is of the close of the sixteenth century; of French workmanship, manifesting a strong Italian bias; and may possibly be the reminiscence of a design by the Venetian painter and medalist, Giovanni Boldu, who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century. It is protected by a frame of carved oak adapted to the purpose. The upper part consists of two arches with "nail-head" mouldings; between them is a grotesque mascaroon, and the spandrels are filled with devices. The interior of each arch represents a clam-shell. The side-jambes are decorated with arabesques; the whole being the production of a Netherland artist of the second half of the sixteenth century. Lord Boston states that he purchased the alto-relievo in its frame, some years back, at Aylesbury, but could learn nothing of its history.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, in support of the French origin of Lord Boston's sculpture, produced a mutilated effigy of Asia holding in her right hand the sun in its glory, and having the folds of her robe marked with red and green pigments similar to those employed on the foliage accompanying Lord Boston's allegoric sculpture. This figure belonged to a set of the four quarters of the globe, wrought of gypseous alabaster, in France, towards the close of the sixteenth century. When entire it must have measured more than six inches in height; but in the *Gent. Mag.* for May 1832, p. 401, are engravings of Europe and America, which, with their pedestals, are said to be twenty inches high. Complete sets of such statuettes are now of much rarity, and the notions respecting them exhibit singular ignorance. Mr. Cuming's Asia has been pronounced a Saxon idol of the sun; and the Europe and America in the *Gent. Mag.* are described as representations of Isis and Osiris. For other French figures of gypseous alabaster the reader is referred to this *Journal* (ix, 196, and x, 382); and for paintings on this substance, vol. xviii, 286.

The Rev. E. Kell, F.S.A., exhibited the drawing of a piece of sculpture from Netley Abbey, representing a wolf's head resting on its foot. It has a peculiarly grotesque expression, and is apparently the work of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

In connexion with the strange and monstrous forms carved in churches, the Chairman had forwarded an extract from the works of St. Bernard, where the saint, denouncing the architectural fancies of the Cluniac monks, asks: "Again, in the cloisters, what is the meaning of those ridiculous monsters, of that deformed beauty, that beautiful deformity, before the very eyes of the brethren when reading? What are disgusting monkeys there for, or ferocious lions, or horrible cen-

taurs, or spotted tigers, or fighting soldiers, or huntsmen sounding the bugle? You may see there one head with many bodies, or one body with numerous heads. Here is a quadruped with a serpent's tail; there is a fish with a beast's head; there a creature, in front a horse, behind a goat; another has horns at one end, and a horse's tail at the other."¹ The foregoing might almost pass for a commentary on the frieze at Adderbury Church, Oxon.

Mr. T. Wright made some observations, and stated that he was now engaged on a work of some extent, on the subject upon which he had in the *Journal* of the Association formerly contributed some notices.²

Mr. Clarence Hopper made the following communication on

TWO PASSAGES IN THE LIFE OF BOGO DE CLARE.

"There are two incidents in the life of Bogo de Clare slightly alluded to in our *Journal*,³ which I think are worthy of more especial notice, as the *Itinerary* of that individual has been so ably commented upon by the Rev. Mr. Hartshorne. In the quotation from the Rolls of Parliament the whole of the facts are not given; and there is a little opaqueness about the story of the fine of £10,000, which would correspond with an almost fabulous sum in the present time, and if inflicted could scarcely have been paid in full. The truth is, that in the allegation the damages were fixed in a kind of fictitious ratio, as may be found in some of our modern courts of law.

"I will not trouble you with the barbarous jargon, called Latin, employed in our law courts in the reign of Edward I; but endeavour to give you, as nearly as possible, a succinct narrative of the evidence as inscribed upon the *coram rege* Roll of the 18th of that monarch's reign, from which it appears that the prior of the Holy Trinity in London, and Bogo de Clare, were attached to answer to our sovereign lord the king; Peter de Chanel, the king's seneschal; Walter de Fane-court, the king's marshal; Edmund Earl of Cornwall, and the abbot of Westminster, upon this ground, that when the said earl had come, at the king's mandate, to this parliament at London, and was passing through the middle of the greater hall at Westminster, where everybody of the kingdom and peace of our lord the king ought, and has a right, to pursue his ease and business lawfully and peaceably, free from any citations or summonses, the aforesaid prior, at the procurement of the said Bogo de Clare, on the Friday next before the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin in this year, did, in the hall aforesaid, serve a citation upon the aforesaid earl, that he should appear at a certain day and place before the Archbishop of Canterbury; wherein

¹ Bernardi Opera, lib. i, col. 526.

² See *Journal*, vol. iv, pp. 203-216.

³ Vol. xviii, p. 75, 1862.

it was charged that it was to the manifest contempt and disparagement of our lord the king, in the sum of ten thousand pounds, and to the injury and infringement of the privilege of the aforesaid church of the abbot, granted thereunto by the court of Rome, that the place aforesaid should be altogether exempt from the jurisdiction of archbishops or bishops, by liberties granted to him and his church, and to the damage of the said abbot in one thousand pounds, and to the manifest prejudice of the office of the said seneschal and marshal, and to them no small damage, since to their office, and to no other, does it pertain to make summonses and attachments, and also to the damage of the aforesaid earl in £5,000, and thereupon produces suit, etc.

"And the prior and Bogo put in their appearance; and the prior acknowledged that he did, as was alleged, serve the citation upon the said earl on the day and place named; but declared his ignorance that the place was exempt, and was not aware that it was to the prejudice of the king or his officers, and threw himself upon the king's mercy. The facts being manifestly acknowledged, the aforesaid prior and Bogo were committed to the Tower of London, to be there kept in custody at the king's pleasure.

"We may easily conjecture that, with a short term of 'durance vile,' and by the payment of a mitigated fine, so powerful and influential a citizen as Bogo de Clare soon escaped this little difficulty.

"But he does not appear to have been able to keep himself out of hot water; for in Hilary term, 21 Edw. I, we find him again before the court, being attached to answer to one John de Waleys, clerk, concerning this, that when the said John, upon Sunday in the feast of Trinity last past, in the peace of our lord the king, and on the part of the archbishop of Canterbury, had entered the house of the aforesaid Bogo, in the city of London, and then and there had brought down some letters of citation to be served, certain of the family of the aforesaid Bogo did cause the said John, by force and against his will, to eat the same letters and the seals appended thereunto; and then and there did imprison, beat, and evilly intreat him, against the peace of our lord the king, and to the damage of the said John of £20, and also in contempt of our lord the king of £1,000; and therein produces suit, etc.

"We are left in the dark upon the point for whom these letters of citation were intended, but doubtless they were meant for Bogo himself (a man of sufficient wealth and importance as to command a number of knights and clerics amongst his retainers), or some near connexion of his family. However this might be, this unlooked-for meal of sheepskin and wax not agreeing with the digestion of the said John de Waleys, he forthwith brings his action against the master of the house, who appeared and defended the suit. Bogo puts in his plea that he is not bound to answer the said John de Waleys, for that in his

complaint he did declare that certain of the family of the said Bogo had made the said trespass, but named no distinct individuals as is wont; neither doth he shew that those persons did it by his order; so that the said Bogo being neither the principal actor nor mover of the offence, sues for judgment in his favour. De Waleys being interrogated if the said Bogo either did or instructed any trespass, replies in the negative; but says that the offence was committed by some of the family, of whose names he is totally ignorant.

"The king adjudges that the trespass being an egregious outrage upon holy mother church, and an open violation and contempt of the king's sovereignty, ought not to pass unpunished, in order to repress so ill an example to future times; and that he ought to be accountable for any transaction which transpired under his roof, and at the hands of those who fed at his table. Whereupon all the family of Bogo de Clare were brought up, excepting Henry de Brabant, John Dunham, Roger de Burnham, and some others, who had escaped and fled beyond the seas. And the jurors having examined divers knights and clerics, and others of the family of the said Bogo, find that it was done without his cognisance, precept, or assent. And as by the law of England he was not bound to reply before the principal actors of the misdoing were convicted, he was bailed to answer at the king's pleasure when the real perpetrators of the offence might be discovered. In the interim the above named delinquents were outlawed, and writs issued to the various sheriffs for their apprehension. The result, however, was a natural one. The affair passed over, and Bogo de Clare was acquitted."

Mr. C. H. Luxmoore, F.S.A., exhibited an amphora-shaped Morocco water-bottle of earthenware, richly painted with arabesque designs in bright blue, yellow, and green, upon a blueish-white glaze.

Mr. Cuming stated that he had a deep bowl, a dish, and small bottle, of the same fabric, which seems to be a reminiscence of that ancient ware which in mediæval times gave birth to the majolica, or faenza, of Italy. The examples possessed by Mr. Luxmoore and Mr. Cuming were all made in Fez, regarding the *modern* pottery of which place Sir Arthur de Capell Brooke says in his *Sketches in Spain and Morocco* (ii, 92): "The ware is coarse, and in some of the articles the glazing is very tolerable; while others appear without any, and as if heat had not been employed to fix the colours: the red, in particular, in some does not seem to have been burnt in, but to have been dropt on afterwards, like sealing-wax (which it resembles a good deal), according to the pattern required."

Mr. W. Powell called attention to four forgeries of first brass Roman coins in cock-metal, professed to have been discovered in deep excavations in the neighbourhood of Dowgate Hill. What pretends to be the earliest is of Caligula, bearing on the reverse the effigies of his three

sisters, Agrippina, Drusilla, and Julia.¹ The next is of Claudius: reverse, a triumphal arch crowned by a figure of Drusus on horseback, the original having been struck on the institution of the equestrian games in honour of the birthdays of Drusus and Antonia, the emperor's parents. The two remaining pieces are from a Paduan forgery of the sixteenth century, bearing on the obverse the bust and names of Septimius Severus; and on the reverse a standing figure holding a spear in the right hand, and resting the left on a shield. Legend, DIVI M EN F. P. M. TRP. III. COS. II. P. P. These four pieces were cast in sand-moulds by the same family who have too long supplied the market with pseudo-antiques in lead, and have lately turned their attention to casting keys, etc., in cock-metal. Towards the close of last year they forged four Roman daggers of bronze (*i.e.* cock-metal), three of which are in the provinces, the other still remaining in London.

Mr. J. T. Irvine laid before the meeting five *sesterti* found in a bank of earth near the Roman villa at Winford Eagle, Dorsetshire. One is of Nerva, one of Trajan, and the rest of Hadrian. They are all much worn, indicating that they were long in circulation. Mr. Irvine also exhibited seven small brass coins discovered in Dorchester, consisting of the following emperors: Gallienus, Carausius, Claudius Gothicus, Tetricus I and II, Constantinople under Constantine the Great, and Gratian.

Mr. Irvine further exhibited four Roman coins, the property of Mr. John Taylor of Northampton, discovered in the ruins of a villa in the parish of Dunston. They are as follow: two small brass of Carausius, the reverse of one bearing a centaur to the left (LEG. II) PARTH. Minted at London. This differs in some respects from coins of the same type and legend given by Stukeley. The other piece displays on its reverse a standing figure of Pax, and is struck over a coin of Tetricus the Elder, whose legend, IMP. C. TE, occupies the place of the word AVG. Stukeley has given a nearly similar coin of Carausius, struck upon one of Victorinus, the letters VICTOR being behind the effigy of Pax. The two other Dunston coins are of Constantine the Great, a second brass, reverse, SOLI INVICTO COMITI; and a third brass, reverse, BEATA TRANQVILLITAS, and an altar inscribed VOTIS XX. Both of these coins were minted at Treves.

Mr. S. Wood exhibited four small brass Roman coins of the fourth century, viz. of Constantine the Great, Constantinople, "Urbs Roma," and Constans. Though of common type they are of interest from their good state of preservation. They were found in Merionethshire in an urn, which also contained about seventeen hundred pieces of money.

Mr. C. Brent exhibited a portion of a bronze frieze bearing an elegantly draped profile figure of a priestess, to the left; her right arm

¹ Mr. Cuning has an early Italian cast of this rare coin, in bronze, of remarkable thinness.

raised, and her left hand grasping a portion of her robe. It is of the time of Hadrian, when an archaic spirit pervaded works both of stone and metal. This fine bronze was stated to have been found in Moorfields. Mr. Brent also laid before the meeting a mitred bust of St. Thomas within a canopy, part of which is broken away; and a Thomas' bell inscribed CAMBA THOME. Both are of pewter, of the fourteenth century, and lately exhumed on the site of the Steelyard, Upper Thames-street. Some of the Canterbury bells bear the legend, SANCTI TOMAES.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a *merau*, or token of presence, found in Moorfields. It is of white metal, rather larger than the present halfpenny; and, from the sharpness of the devices, appears to have been cast in a metal die, in like way as the papal bulls. Obverse,—within a circle of twenty-four annulated pellets the Agnus Dei supporting the banner of the Resurrection by its left foot, and turning the head back to survey it. The cruciferous banner held by the Holy Lamb on the Whitland tile of the thirteenth century, described at p. 81 *ante*, has three tails; and a three-tailed banner is also held by the Lamb on the *moutons* struck by our Edward III for his Anglo-Gallic possessions; but in the present instance three tails float at once from the cross-staff; and it is also note-worthy that the figure is without a nimbus, like the Agnus Dei in Chartres Cathedral, of the thirteenth century, given in this *Journal* (x, 351). Reverse,—a cross with very broad ends extending to the edge of the piece; and between each limb, in the centre, are three annulated pellets; and in the margin four similar pellets. This *merau* is of the fourteenth century, and probably appertained to an Easter festival, the device being typical of the Paschal Lamb. (For some notice of tokens of presence, see *Journal*, i, 206.)

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited two French jettons, or abbey-pieces, of the fourteenth century, of brass, both displaying inscribed effigies of the Agnus Dei. The banner borne by one of the figures has three tails, and the staff terminates in a cross potent. Legend, HVNTE . BIEN . MOYTON. Reverse, a cross fleury within a quatrefoil, DELATON . XVI . NOVME. The banner, held by the Lamb on the other jetton has but two tails, and the staff ends in a cross pommée. Legend, GETES . SANS . FALIR (*cast without mistake*). Reverse, a cross potent with a fleur-de-lys between each limb. GETES . BIEN . SAGEM (*cast right wisely*). The Agnus Dei in the reliquary of about the end of the fifteenth century, engraved in this *Journal* (xviii, 397), supports a cruciferous banner with two tails.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

ADDENDA TO THE "ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ." By ADMIRAL W. H. SMYTH, K.S.F., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., etc. London, 1864. 4to. *Privately printed.*

IN a former volume of the *Journal* (vii, pp. 444-52) we have given a notice of the *ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ* by Admiral W. H. Smyth, and we have now the gratification of announcing the appearance of a volume of *ADDENDA*. This cannot but be interesting to our readers from the relation it bears to our late President, Dr. John Lee, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., etc., the owner of the Hartwell domain. It is appropriately and affectionately addressed to Dr. Lee by the author, who has entered *con amore* into all those objects and pursuits which have for so long a time formed the objects of the worthy Doctor's pursuits, tending to the advancement of science, the progress of human knowledge, and the happiness of mankind. The particular notices in relation to the climatic phenomena of Hartwell, the illustrations of its geology, its contributions to palæontology, and, above all, the astronomical observations which have emanated from its Observatory, give additional interest to the archæological and historical subjects treated of in this handsome volume, alike creditable to the generosity, the taste, and the learning, of the possessor of the mansion and the author of the work.

The first chapter contains a chorographical nomenclature, in which Admiral Smyth contends for his original suggestion as to the appellation of Buckingham; deriving it from the British *bwe*, Saxonised into *boe* or *buc*, bearing allusion to the forests of beech trees which distinguish the county; and he has enriched his pages in regard to local nomenclature by a very extensive collection of archaisms still lingering among the peasantry in various parts of Buckinghamshire. Among these the following will be esteemed by our readers as apparently new or the most rare:

"*Bitnam*, an angle or turning in a wood.

Boddle, weeds in corn.

Bottom, low or depressed ground.

Bremel, the bramble or blackberry bush.

Caldow, a name for a jackdaw.

Clavvers, bur-weeds in corn.

Dredge, a mixture of oats and barley.
Flam, a low, marshy place near a stream.
Fog, the aftermath, or second crop of grass.
Fream, land which has been worked too much.
Gis-ground, untilled green sward.
Hartston, a homestall where harts are congregated.
Hirste, a branch or bough.
Hor-mead, a boundary meadow.
Jurnut, the earth-bunium, or pig-nut.
Kirmel, a tub for household purposes.
Little-worth, an enclosed homestead, a small farm.
Mestling, mixed corn of wheat and rye sown together.
Porwigyle, a tadpole.
Puggens, the husks of barley.
Rowens, the second mowing of grass for hay.
Skip, a chaff-basket.
Souse, broth and vegetables given to farm-labourers.
Spinney, a shaw or woody plot, a streamlet.
Stubbings, relics of the harvest.
Swarth or *swatch*, the fall of grass at each cut of the mower's scythe.
Thiller, a term denoting the shaft-horse."

The archæological additions to the *ÆDES* since their publication are not numerous, but carry no little interest. Intelligence of the principal discoveries of recent date has already been given to antiquaries by J. Y. Akerman, Esq., late Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, through the pages of the *Archæologia* (vol. xxxiv, pp. 21-32). This is a paper of importance, treating of a question still in dispute among some antiquaries. Remains were found in a pit of the description commonly known as *latrine*, or rubbish-holes, until the inquiries by Dr. Diamond at Ewell, near Epsom,¹ dissipated that idea as well as that of their having been wells, by demonstrating, from the nature of their contents, that they had been devoted to the purpose of sepulchral interment. Mr. Akerman having received intelligence of similar structures in the Isle of Thanet, and having consulted the pages of Bartoli,² wherein is described the construction of a particular kind of *columbarium* discovered on the Aventine Hill in 1692, was well prepared to examine some pits in the village of Stone near Aylesbury, and has satisfactorily shewn that they belong to a mode of sepulture frequently resorted to by the Roman possessors of Britain; a mode of all others, after cremation has been employed, most likely to secure the remains from violation or desecration, and occupying only a very limited space for their destined purpose.

The spot at which the discovery was made is at a considerable height above the Vale of Aylesbury, where, a few years since, some labourers

¹ *Archæologia*, xxxii, 451.

² *Gli Antichi Sepolcri*. Roma, 1768. Fol.

found several human skeletons, with the remains of oxen, etc. This had at one time been the site of a cemetery; and along with the skeletons and bones of the ox were found also a horse-shoe and various weapons establishing the Teutonic character of the interments.

Previously the Rev. J. B. Reade had found in the orchard of the Vicarage a large Saxon bronze fibula, which was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries,¹ with a portion of coarse cloth still adhering to the fragment of the acus; from which it may reasonably be presumed to have been buried along with the body of the wearer. The limits of the cemetery have not been determined. It probably embraced the southern portion of the vicar's garden; and on the north side of the road various relics, both Roman and Saxon, have occasionally been discovered. Skeletons with spear-heads, knives, umbos of shields, urns containing incriminated bones, etc., have been brought to light; and in one instance the workmen came upon a pit no less than twenty-seven feet deep, in which, at fifteen feet from the surface, an urn was discovered. The remains are clearly those of two different people. Of their precise age it would be difficult to pronounce: a difficulty increased by the discovery of what the workmen regarded as an old well, abandoned and filled up, on the left of the road, and upon the site of the County Lunatic Asylum.

No relics had hitherto been found upon this spot; and Mr. Akerman and the Rev. Mr. Reade determined upon an exploration. At the depth of eight feet a stratum of hard blue stone, a foot thick, occurred, and through this a circular hole had been made. Immediately beneath, a chamber six feet three inches in diameter was discovered; and from this many fragments of cinerary urns of a dark slate-colour, some containing bones, human and of some large animal, and portions of burnt oak and beech, were obtained. The shaft of the pit was continued through the chamber eleven feet, to another stratum of rock; and beneath this there was a second chamber, four feet four inches in diameter, containing similar relics with the addition of the skull, teeth, the horn of an ox, a portion of the skin, tanned and preserved by the action of sulphurous acid of the blue clay below; together with wood burnt and unburnt, and partially destroyed. There were twelve urns of different sizes and forms; two bronze rings, probably armillæ, rude in their construction, and two inches and three-quarters diameter; and a wooden bucket with iron hoops and cleets for the handle, which, however, could not be found. The edges of the staves of the bucket were connected together by wooden pins. The bucket and urns are represented in the accompanying woodcuts (Nos. 1 and 2) on the next page.

Some of the urns had been baked in what is called "smother-kilns."

¹ See *Archæologia*, vol. xxx, Appendix, p. 545.

of which the first account was given in this *Journal* (vol. i, p. 3) by Mr. C. Roach Smith, from a discovery made by the late E. T. Artis, Esq. These vessels bore no potter's name, like to those found by Dr. Diamond at Ewell; and Mr. Akerman concluded that the Roman inhabitants of this spot and their immediate successors, whether a tribe of Franks or Saxons, were of a humble, though not of the humblest grade. Other vases found about fifty yards from this spot, would appear to mark out this place as having been a common burial-ground of the Roman or Romanised inhabitants.



No. 1.



No. 2.

From the foregoing statements we learn that Stone has been productive of—

1. In the Vicarage garden a large dish-shaped fibula having a Christian emblem.¹

2. In the turnpike road seven human skeletons regularly interred, one of which, in a semicircular grave, had stones placed over the whole of the body. Another had an obliterated coin of Magnentius and a fragment of the skull of an ox.

3. In the sand-pit a skeleton with spear, knife, umbo of shield, and an urn at the feet; a cinerary urn filled with burnt bones, and an inverted and empty urn. Traces of fire around were distinctly traced, and several fragments of cinerary urns.

4. In the shaft twenty-seven feet deep, an urn at fifteen feet, and stones at the bottom bearing evidences of fire.

5. On the field, the site of the County Asylum, a pit containing in the upper chamber about a dozen cinerary urns containing human and animal bones, wood burnt and unburnt, and at the bottom a portion of tanned skin, a piece of wood with a square hole in the middle, and a wooden bucket made of oak, but the handle wanting. Here were also found portions of the bones of an ox, some other animal, the core of the horn of a goat, and the phalanges of some young quadruped; two bronze armillæ; an iron disc, about an inch in diameter, with a spike on each side; the handle of an amphora, and a few fragments of Samian ware.

6. Fifty yards north-west of the pit, and only two feet from the sur-

¹ Engraved in the *Archæologia*, xxx, p. 545.

face, a double-handled urn; a smaller one with a single handle, and a small one of dark clay. Thirty yards south-west, various fragments of cinerary urns of a coarse fabric; and near to this spot two coins in middle brass, one of them Domitian: *rev.*, Spes walking; the other of Vespasian,—*rev.*, an altar between the letters s. c.

In addition to these archaeological memoranda connected with this locality, Admiral Smyth states that in 1854 an *aureus* of Nero, with a sedent Salus on its reverse, was discovered in Kingsey Field near Twythorpe. In April 1858 a second brass (Probus), on the north side of Hartwell House, bearing a galeated figure, inscribed VIRTUS AVG. as its reverse; and must have been struck A.D. 279. The present Vicar of Stone (the Rev. Dr. Booth, F.R.S.) in 1862 discovered some human remains, together with two iron spear-heads, in the Stone sand-pits; and a third brass coin of Claudius Gothicus was also picked up at the red sand-pit near Peverel Court, on the 8th Nov. of the same year. Hoards of coins have occasionally been met with; and Dr. Lee, in digging trenches for the planting of trees between the church and mansion of Hartwell, came upon a collection of silver coins consisting of about two thousand four hundred crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences of Edward VI, Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I. To the latter reign the greater number pertained. On another occasion a gold angel, which had been used as a touch-piece for the cure of the evil, was discovered.

The second chapter of the *ÆDES* is devoted to the geology, climate, and husbandry, around Hartwell, continued from the previous volume; based on the investigations of the late Dr. Fitton and Sir Henry De la Beche by Mr. Warrington Smyth, F.R.S., inspector of the mineral property of the Crown. A plate of the geological features of the manor is given; and another of the sections of strata, and the representation of a *pleurophilis serratus* in a fossil state. Other fossil monsters have been met with, and are preserved in the Hartwell Museum.

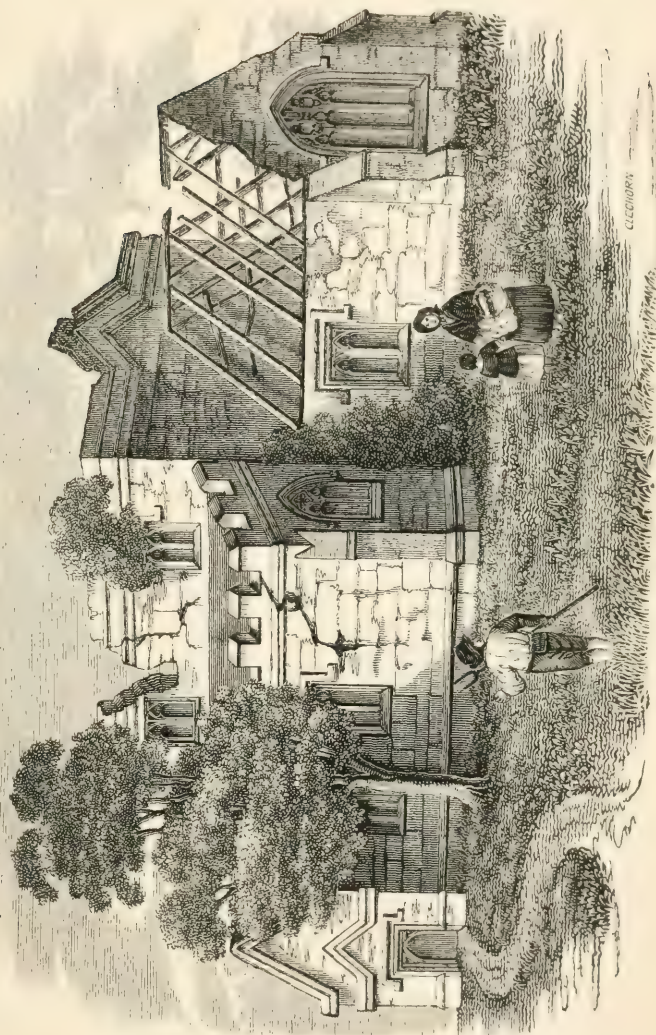
Having noticed the phenomena observable in the several months of the year, the author proceeds to treat of the husbandry, and gives an engraved plate of the farms around Hartwell. In the consideration of this subject, the Admiral enters upon a defence of birds, and expresses his gratification at finding the best farmers are not to be reckoned among the bitterest foes of the feathered race. The decree in the 24th Henry VIII, to extirpate rooks, crows, etc., is given. A list of the innocuous birds of the district amounts to no less than eighty-four species, by whose habits and exertions much protection is afforded to vegetation.

The general sodality of Hartwell at the Conquest; the notice of the Hampdens, so intimately connected with the manor of Hartwell, has

afforded opportunity to introduce many interesting testamentary documents, inventories, etc., preserved among the family muniments;¹ notices of the Lees of Quarendon, establishing the correlation of the houses of Morton, Claydon, and Quarendon; of Sir George Lee, Prince Frederick and the Princess of Wales; the Lees of Colworth, etc.; the whole forming a very varied and valuable chapter. It introduces us to several subjects interesting to antiquaries. The now desecrated chapel, the birthplace of St. Osyth, is figured in the accompanying plate (14) as it appeared in 1828. The nave is forty feet in length by twenty in breadth, the chancel twenty-one feet by thirteen, and the aisles forty feet by nine. To the exertions of Archdeacon Bickersteth, urged by the local archaeological society, its present state is owing, else it would assuredly have been razed to the ground. The degradation of the building is well displayed in the views here given (plates 15 and 16); and we learn that the interior, in 1828, showed a clerestoried nave with lateral aisles; a chancel with vestiges of a gable roof, though without any tiles; the fittings gone, and the area strewn with monumental *débris*. Before 1858 the spoil had been carried off by cartloads; not a monument or inscription remained, the Early English portion of the architecture was destroyed, and the very walls were gone. The appearance of its roofless arches, as shewn in the plates, will excite much regret. There had been a costly sarcophagus of Sir Henry Lee, and also his statue in gilt armour, decorated with the insignia of the garter; near to this a fine altar-tomb with the recumbent figures of his father and mother are reported to have excited the admiration of the late Sir Francis Chantrey, who, it is said, told Lord Nugent that he had borrowed his first idea for the exquisite sleeping sisters (the Robinsons) in Lichfield Cathedral from the latter. Lord Nugent, who had taste for the arts, was desirous of removing these monuments to his seat, The Lillies, in the neighbourhood; and Dr. Lee also offered to remove them to Hartwell, to be preserved in the chapel. The archdeacon of that day made opposition to these proposals, and the result has been the total destruction of these interesting monuments. The inscriptions upon them, together with drawings of the heraldic devices in the stained glass windows which lit the elegant little chancel, are, however, among the treasures in the British Museum (Lansdown MS. 874), taken by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, 1611. These are engraved, and the arms of Sir Anthony Lee, as restored by Sir Charles Young, Garter, in Admiral Smyth's volume.

The museum at Hartwell House has been enriched since the publication of the *Ædes*. It has also been deprived of some of its ornaments, occasioned by the liberality of Dr. Lee, who has presented to the

¹ For view of the Hartwell muniment room of the time of Elizabeth, see *Journal*, vol. vii, p. 449.



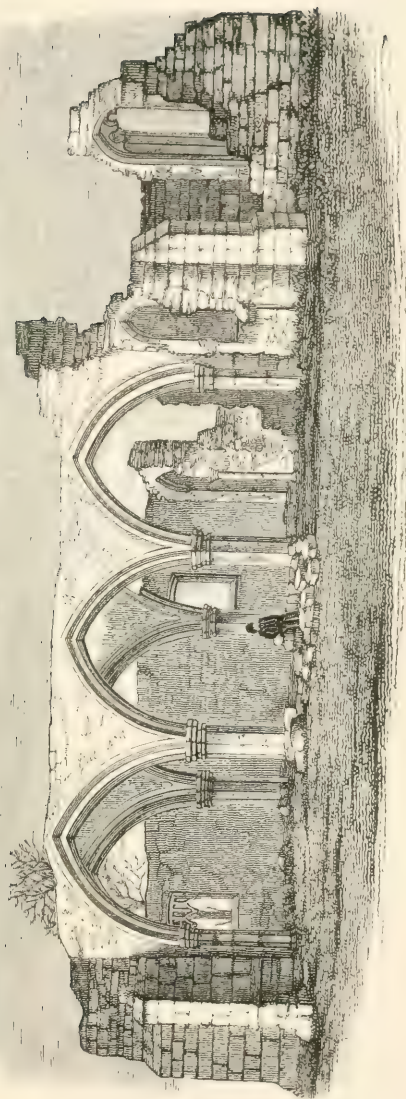
QUARENDON CHAPEL. EXTERIOR.





QUARENDON CHAPEL. INTERIOR.





RUINS OF QUARENDON CHAPEL.



Society of Antiquaries the relics obtained by him in excavations made at Ithaca.

At the sale of the collection of Sig. Athanasi, Dr. Lee became the purchaser of a beautiful head of Pentelic marble, with the hair gracefully represented, and one ear invisible. It is in half-relief out of the marble, in the best style of Greek art, and is believed to have belonged to the frieze of the Parthenon. Admiral Smyth and Mr.



Bonomi have always regarded it as a representation of the youthful HEBE, torn from the eastern pediment. As it was considered to be of greater archaeological value in its proper place, Dr. Lee most readily yielded to the solicitation of Mr. C. F. Newton, keeper of the Greek and Roman antiquities in the British Museum; and through his friend, Professor Owen, Dr. Lee offered it to the Trustees of the Museum for their acceptance. Admiral Smyth had it photographed, and a copy of this is herewith presented to our readers.

It remains to state that the chapter relating to the museum is particularly interesting in regard to Egyptian antiquities, some of which are

admirably drawn by Mr. Bonomi ; the analogies of Egypt and Mexico ; and on findings in North Africa.

Sketches in the vicinity of Hartwell afford fine subjects for the Admiral's discursive pen, and introduce us to some old acquaintances among the *Papers* of the Architectural and Archaeological Society for the county of Buckingham, *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, *The United Service Journal*, etc., concerning "Cold Harbours," "The Pursuit of Archaeology," "The Advantages of Rubbings from Inscriptions," "Relics found near Aylesbury," "On a double-faced Brass in Stone Church," "On the Desecration of Sacred Edifices," "The Sieges of Boarstall ; a Tale of the Civil War," etc., with which our readers are already well acquainted. In the article on Boarstall, however, reference is made to a volume exhibited by Dr. Lee at one of the evening meetings of our Association, of which a description will be found in vol. xv, p. 89. It is an Arabic version of Cardinal Bellarmin's *Dottrina Christiana*, used by the celebrated Arabic professor in the University of Cambridge, Mr. Abraham Whelocke, and containing a permission to pass and repass the town-gates of Cambridge at his pleasure, signed by Cromwell and others. As fac-similes of the writings are now given by the kind permission of Dr. Lee, they have been transferred to our pages to illustrate the reference above given.¹ (See plate 17.) Admiral Smyth gives some particulars relating to the Arabic professor ; and a notice of him will also be found in Mr. Pettigrew's *Bibliotheca Susseriana* (vol. i, Part II, p. 61). He was the first Arabic and Saxon professor in the University.

An Appendix comprising a list of Admiral Smyth's varied contributions to art, science, and literature, completes the ADDENDA to the *ÆDES* ; and with the most respectful and heartfelt good wishes to the owner of Hartwell and his learned historiographer, we bid them adieu.

WINCHESTER CITY CROSS.—The High Cross of Winchester, a work of the fifteenth century, has been for many years in a state of great dilapidation and decay. The upper portion of it has wholly disappeared, three of the four statues with which it was adorned are gone, the carved work is greatly decayed, and there is every appearance of its shortly becoming ruinous in all parts, unless it be speedily repaired. Measures are now taking for the complete restoration, in its present position, of so interesting an object of antiquity in a city of such historical celebrity as the ancient capital of Wessex. A committee has been formed consisting of the members of the Town Council and many of the principal inhabitants of the city. Mr. Geo. Gilbert Scott has furnished plans for the restoration of the Cross, and has undertaken to superintend the

¹ An error occurs in regard to one of the signatures, which, instead of John Cooke, should have been Tho. I. Cooke.

Aprill: 4: 1643

Super the beaver hereof m^r Abraham
Whelcke to passe your garde for often
as he shall have occasion into and out
of Cambridge towards lytle Shelford or any
other place and this shall be your warrant

Thos: Cooke Oliver Cromwell
James Thompson
Edw: Denche

Let M^r Abraham Whelcke
passe your garde for often
as he shall have occasion
into and out of Cambridge
towards lytle Shelford or any
other place and this shall be your
warrant. given under my hand
this 27 of Feb: 1643
Manchester



execution of them. He proposes to retain as much of the original structure as may be found practicable, and to restore the whole, as nearly as possible, to what he believes to have been its original state. The sum of £600 will be required to complete the work. Subscriptions will be received by W. W. Bulpett, Esq., Treasurer; Mr. Chas. Bailey, Town Clerk; or at either of the banks in the city.

WINCHESTER RECORDS.—We have great satisfaction in recording that, by the unanimous vote of the Town Council on May 5th, it was decided to do all that can possibly be done towards the preservation of the city muniments, making them virtually accessible to the antiquary and historian. Mr. F. J. Baigent of Winchester, our esteemed associate, has undertaken the task of arranging and sorting this mass of archives, the accumulation of nearly six centuries,—a work of much labour, and no little difficulty. Mr. Baigent's well-known anxiety for the preservation of ancient records alone could have prompted him to venture upon such a task, the accomplishment of which will reflect much credit upon the city of Winchester.

YORKSHIRE ANTIQUITIES.—The Rev. John Kenrick, M.A., F.S.A., the curator of antiquities of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, who so ably conducted the members and visitors of the Association over their interesting museum at the late Congress, is preparing for publication, in one volume 8vo. (price 7s. 6d.), a selection of papers on subjects of archæology and history communicated to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. The profits arising from the sale of this work will be devoted to the purchase of books for the library of the Society, and names of subscribers should be sent to W. S. Dallas, Esq., Museum, York.

WATERFORD ROLL.—The Rev. James Graves, A.B., M.R.I.A., the zealous Secretary of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, is about to publish an illuminated charter roll of Waterford, *temp.* Richard II. It will form a 4to. volume, printed on tinted paper, having nineteen plates in chromo-zincography, including an ancient view of the city of Waterford. The price to subscribers will be £1, and names should be sent to the Rev. J. Graves, Ennisnag Rectory, Stoneyford, Thomastown; or to E. Clibborn, Esq., Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, where tracings from the roll may be seen. The roll is of great interest and beauty, comprising all the early charters and grants to the city of Waterford from the time of Henry II to Richard II, including Edward III when young, and again at an advanced age. A full length portrait of each king whose charter is given, adorns the margin. We strongly recommend this ancient and almost unique work of art to the attention of our associates.

JEWISH COINAGE.—Mr. Frederick W. Madden of the British Museum is about to publish, by subscription (price one guinea), a history of the Jewish coinage and of the money in the Old and New Testament. It will form one volume, in royal 8vo., and be illustrated with two hundred and forty-four woodcuts and a plate of alphabets, by F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. To those interested in biblical numismatics this work will be truly acceptable, as hitherto information on the subject is only to be obtained by a diligent search for articles dispersed in various journals and dictionaries often difficult to be obtained.

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY.—A few members of the Philological Society, anxious to continue the publication of early English texts, have formed a committee to collect subscriptions for printing early English MSS. They propose to put forth an 8vo. series, commencing with three tracts of the date of 1220-1230,—*Si Seiret*, a fanciful piece on the text, *Si seiret Paternilias*; *Hali Meidenhad*; and *The Wooing of our Lord*, or *Wohung of ure Louerd*,—to be edited by the Rev. O. Cockayne, M.A. This to be followed by four early English alliterative poems, three of which are still inedited, by Richard Morris, Esq. The texts, printed by Austin of Hertford, are, as far as possible, to have the expansions of all contractions in MSS. in italics. The subscription is one guinea *per annum*, to be paid into the London and Birmingham Bank, or to the Hon. Sec., H. B. Wheatley, Esq., 53, Berners-street.

ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.—From reports put forth by Mr. G. G. Scott, R.A., relating to the restoration of this cathedral, the committee earnestly solicit further contributions for the thorough reparation of the tower and the restoration of the choir, to which the sums already subscribed are inadequate. Subscriptions may be sent to Charles Allen, Esq., Tenby, Hon. Sec., and to the bankers at Carmarthen and Brecon.

RUSSIAN ETHNOLOGY.—Mr. T. De Pauly has put forth propositions to publish an ethnological description of the various nations and peoples comprised in the vast empire of Russia. It is published under the patronage of the government, and dedicated to the Emperor Alexander II. The illustrations are from sixty-two exquisitely coloured drawings representing the costumes and types of the different nations and peoples described. The letter-press is in French; and a limited number of copies will be printed, the price of which in Russia will be two hundred silver roubles, equal to £35 sterling; but copies may be obtained of Mr. Booth, Regent-street, for twenty guineas.

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ON AN EFFIGY OF ONE OF THE MARKENFIELD FAMILY IN RIPON CATHEDRAL.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., ROUGE CROIX, HON. SEC.

IN the cathedral church of St. Wilfrid, Ripon, is the effigy of a knight in armour of complete steel, and displaying all the characteristic features of the military equipment of the commencement of the fifteenth century. There may be seen the pointed bascinet with its chain neck-piece or camail, the globular breastplate uncovered by the jupon and engraved with the owner's armorial ensigns. Attached to it is a skirt composed of horizontal bands of steel, well known to the student of military costume as distinctive of a particular period terminating as nearly as possible with the reign of Henry V; and if more were required to fix the precise date of the execution of this effigy, I might point to the sacred monogram sculptured on the front of the bascinet,—a fashion of which we have so many examples, all of the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Amongst those best known from their having been engraved in various popular works, I may mention Lord Bardolf's effigy in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, with the monogram I.H.S.; Duke of Somerset (Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*), Wimborne Minster, with the words IESU MARCY; an effigy of the Wilcote family at Northleigh, Oxfordshire (Skelton's *Illustrations of Ancient Arms and Armour*), I.H.S. NAZAREN'; and that of a knight

in Bakewell Church, Derbyshire, which displays the same as the latter. The fashion seems to have been at its height about 1424. The head of the effigy reposes, as usual, on a tilting-helmet surmounted by its crest, which has unfortunately received so much injury that it is difficult to form even a guess at it. It may have been horns or ears.

The effigy at Ripon is thus described by Mr. Walbran in his excellent *Guide*: "In the aisle of the north transept was formerly the chantry of St. Andrew.....This chapel was also the burial-place of the Markenfields of Markenfield, near this city (Ripon); but no other memorial now remains in it except a fine altar-tomb of Sir Thomas Markenfield, a warrior of the time of Richard II; and Dionisia, his wife, daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliam of Emley. He is vested in a suit of complete armour, and wears a collar, which, on being recently cleaned, exhibits the design of a park-pale and a stag couchant above the elongated but depressed pales in front. His arms (*argent*) on a bend (*sable*), three bezants, are sculptured on his breast and on the hilt of his richly decorated sword, as well as repeated impaling Fitzwilliam¹ and Minot in a series of fifteen shields graven round the tomb, commemorative of the alliances of his powerful and illustrious race."

Before I make any observations on the effigy itself, I will trouble you with a few upon this powerful and chivalric race of the Markenfields, who, giving them due credit for the possession of the influence and gallantry attributed to them by Mr. Walbran, have certainly received scant justice at the hands of the historian, as the name is unmentioned in any of the chronicles, as far as I have been able to discover, down to the period at which this remarkable effigy appears to have been executed. In vol. i. of the MS. collections of John Charles Brooke, Somerset Herald A.D. 1794, there are a few meagre and genealogical notes respecting the family of Markenfield; and in No. 91 of the same collection is a more perfect pedigree, founded, it would appear, on official documents and family papers, which, together with a more detailed account, is to be found in a volume marked C. 17 of the same collection. From this latter source I have gathered the following information.

¹ This statement, Mr. Walbran informs me, is an error inadvertently left uncorrected in the second edition of his book.

Mr. Brooke commences by stating that—"In *Domesday Book*, in the lands belonging to William de Percy, we find the following mention of this place, '*i.e.*, Markinfield. "In the manor of Merchefeld (Merkenfield), Grim hath five carucates of land, which payeth to the geld (or taxes) where may be three carucates. Now Berulfus holds it of William de Percy. He himself (*i.e.* William de Percy) hath these two villeins with two carucates. In the time of King Edward (the Confessor) this place was valued at twenty shillings, now at ten shillings.'"

The first person of the name of Markenfield who occurs was Simon de Markenfield, whose son Roger held one carucate of land, in Monketon, of Henry de Hamerton, 29th of Edward I; which king, in the 33rd of his reign, granted to the said Roger and John his brother free warren in all their demesne lands in Markenfield in the county of York.¹ By Maud his wife, who after his death confirmed to the monks of Fountains one acre of land, of which one half laid in Scortebuttes, and the other at Dunheved in Markenfield, he had issue William his heir, whose son, Sir John de Markenfield, was returned as lord of the manors of Markington and Erryholme in Richmondshire, and a moiety of the manor of Brotherton.² To this Sir John, Henry de (Markington ?), 3rd of Edward II, gave one messuage, etc., and the fourth part of one mill which Isabel de Studley held in Grantley. To which deed was witness William de Clotherham and others.³ To Sir John succeeded in this manor Sir Andrew de Markenfield, his son, who in his father's lifetime possessed the manor of Scruton in Richmondshire (9th of Edward II).⁴ On the 18th of August he was impleaded by William de Milton, archbishop of York, because he entered his chase of Thornton and his warren at Ripon and Monkton. He acknowledged the aforesaid chase and warren to be the right of the archbishop. He had issue Sir Thomas Markenfield, knight, who, by the daughter and heir of Minott, had issue another Sir Thomas. Sir Thomas de Markenfield, knight, lord of Markenfield, Eryholme, Scruton, etc., was living in the 43rd of Edward III; married Dionisia, relict of Sir Henry Soothill of Soothill near Wakefield, knight, who had in jointure the manor of Darton in

¹ Charter, 33 Ed. I.

³ Dodsworth's MS.

² Nom. Villar., 9 Ed. II, 1316.

⁴ Nom. Villar.

the wapentake of Stainercross. They had issue Sir John, who succeeded Thomas, Robert, and Peter, who all three died without issue: Joan married to Sir Roger Ward, knight, and Elizabeth to William Calverley of Calverley, Esq. (1429).

Of Sir John, his son, there is little mention. He married Margaret, daughter of John Middleton; had issue Isabel, married to Sir John Mauleverer of Allerton Mauleverer, knt.; Margery, married to John Middleton; and John, a son, who, by Margery daughter of John Hopton of Swillington, had issue Sir Thomas, John, William, Robert, Joan, and Ann. Sir Thomas Markenfield, knight, son and heir, was lord of Markenfield and all the ancient estates belonging to the family. He was a person of high renown in his time, and an active supporter of the interest of the house of York in this county, in opposition to the Lancastrian party, during the unhappy wars of those two families, for which he was amply rewarded by Richard III upon his accession to the throne. In the year 1485 (third of that reign) he served the office of high sheriff of the county of York, and had a privy seal directed to the Treasurer and Chamberlain of the Exchequer for an assignment of £340 by taile or tailles, upon the receipt of his baillywicke.¹ Soon after, he had an annuity of one hundred marks granted to him by the king, during his life, payable out of the revenues of Middleham; and lastly, a grant of divers manors and lordships, viz. of Glutton and Farnham, South Brent, Stratton, Yevilton, Spykington, and Chilyngton, all in the county of Somerset, and amounting in value to the yearly sum of £101, to be held by him and his heirs male by knight's service, paying to the king yearly the sum of £7 : 3. He married Eleanor, daughter of Sir John Conyers of Sokeburn in the county palatine of Durham, knight, by whom he had issue, Sir Ninian, his heir; Thomas, who married Elizabeth, daughter of John Lord Scroop of Upsall; Christopher, who died young; and a daughter Anne. He died May 1, A.D. 1487, and lies buried with Eleanor his wife, who died 5th of June 1483, in Ripon Cathedral. Upon their tomb are their effigies in alabaster, with an inscription, from which we learn he was also Seneschal of Ripon and of Kirkby Malzerde.

Sir Ninian Markenfield of Markenfield, knight, son and heir of Sir Thomas, married two wives. First, Anne,

¹ Harleian MSS., No. 433.

daughter of Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe, knight, by Margaret, his wife, daughter of Henry Percy, third Earl of Northumberland; secondly, Eleanor, sister of Henry Earl of Cumberland, and daughter of Henry Lord Clifford, who survived him, and remarried with Sir John Constable of Haltham, in Holderness, knight. By the first he had issue, Thomas, who succeeded him; Alice, married to Robert Mauleverer of Arncliffe and Wothersome, Esq.; Eleanor to Robert Aske of Aughton, Esq.; and Anne to Sir Christopher Conyers of Sokeburne in Durham, knight. Sir Ninian died in the 20th Henry VIII,¹ seized of the manors of Markenfield and Aysmonderby, held of the Earl of Northumberland as of his barony of Spofforth, by knight's service; of the manor of Romandby held of the Archbishop of York as of his manor of North Allerton, by knight's service; and of certain lands and tenements in Ripon, Bondgate, Monkton, Thorp, Grantley, Evaston, Markington, Unthank, Thornton, and Shaw, held of the said archbishop as of his manor of Ripon, by knight's service; of the manors of Scruton and Erryholme; and messuages in Newsam, Unthank, Lening, Newton, Erlby, Earley, Dalton, and Holme, which were held of the honour of Richmond (by what service the jurors know not); and that Thomas Markenfield was his son and heir.

Sir Thomas Markenfield of Markenfield, knight (son and heir aforesaid), married Margaret, daughter of John Norton of Norton Conyers, Esq., by Anne his wife, daughter and heir of William Ratcliffe of Skipton in Craven, Esq., and sister to that famous arch-traitor, Richard Norton,—a fatal marriage to this family, as will be hereafter shewn. By her he had issue, Thomas, his heir, and died in the fourth year of King Edward VI, seized of the same manors as his father held under the Earl of Northumberland and the archbishop; but which had now all passed into the king's hands by conveyance to him from Henry Percy, seventh earl, and Robert Holgate, archbishop of York; and of various other property in Bishop's Monkton, Markington, Grantley, etc., etc.

Thomas, his son and heir, had livery of his father's inheritance in the second year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but enjoyed the ancient patrimony of his ancestors but a short time; for the northern insurrection breaking out under the command of Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland,

¹ Escheat, *sub anno*.

and Charles Nevile, Earl of Westmoreland, under a pretence of defending the ancient Catholic religion, this Thomas, at the instigation of his uncle, Richard Norton, who, with his sons, was a principal agent in the rebellion, and the bearer of their superstitious standard painted with the cross and the five wounds of our Saviour, engaged in the cause, which proving unsuccessful, he was taken by Thomas Earl of Sussex, attainted, and executed in the twelfth year of Queen Elizabeth along with his uncle Norton, Christopher and Marmaduke Norton his sons, and many other gentlemen of distinction; whereby all his large estate was forfeited to the crown.

The following is a copy of a letter sent by this Thomas Markenfield to Francis Earl of Shrewsbury when Lord President of the North, which shows his power in the county at that time, and, we may add, his treachery :

“Pleaseth it y^r L^dship to be advertized that according to y^r L^dship’s letter directed for a view & muster of my servants & tenants, I have viewed & mustered them; whereof I have in readiness 30 able men with horse and harness, with 20 able footmen with harness, to attend upon y^r L^dship at an hours warning. And thus I beseech our L^d God preserve y^r L^dship in health with the increase of much honour.

“From Markinfield the 9th March 1557.

“Y^r L^dships ever at com’andment,

“THOMAS MARKINGFIELD.”

He married Isabel, daughter of Sir William Ingleby of Ripley, knight, Treasurer of Berwick, by Anne his wife, daughter of Sir William Mallory of Studley, knight; but what children he left does not appear, though it is probable he had issue, as the name still remains in the parts adjacent to Ripon, but in a low degree; and one William Markenfield of Markington cum Wallowthwayt, disclaimed any right to arms at the visitation of the county of York by Sir William Dugdale in 1665,¹ as probably not being able, or willing, to connect himself with the old stock.

The family estates were chiefly granted away by Queen Elizabeth to sundry persons, viz. Thomas Calverley, second son of Sir William Calverley of Calverley, knight; Henry Anderson, Thomas Bayerton, Nicholas Brooke, and Pereceval Gunston.²

¹ C. 40, Coll. Arm.

² Pat. Rolls 17 and 19 of Elizabeth.

Markenfield Hall is in the manor of Markington, which manor belonged in Brooke's time to William Aislalie of Studley, Esq. Sir Fletcher Norton bought the Hall, together with eight hundred acres of land, of Francis Duke of Bridgewater, for £10,000; and in right of the Hall claimed the manor there, and refused to answer to Mr. Aislalie's court at Markington. They were engaged in a Chancery suit concerning it in 1779, which seems to have terminated in Sir Fletcher Norton's favour, as in 1790 William Norton, Lord Grantley, appointed a game-keeper for the manors of Markenfield, Hewick, and Evaston. The old house had, as early as that period, been converted into a farm; but it was embattled, and had the remains of an old chapel attached to it, ornamented with coats of arms.

In Dugdale's *Yorkshire Arms* (MS., College of Arms), p. 134, is a drawing of the effigy in question, and beneath it sketches of the coats of arms as they appeared on the altar-tomb at that period (28th March 1665), "ex parte boreali ejusdem tumuli." Six shields: 1, fretty, a canton; 2, an eagle displayed, impaling five fusils in fess; 3, three water bougets; 4, a blank; 5, a cross pattée flory; 6, a bend. "Ex parte australi," six shields: 1, a bend; 2, a lion rampant debased by a bend dexter; 3, on a canton a fleur-de-lys; 4, on a bend three bezants (Markenfield); 5, a fess; 6, Markenfield impaling three helmets,—Minott. "Ad caput tumuli," three shields: 1, a saltier; 2, a chevron; 3, three water bougets. As there are no colours marked I presume they had lost all traces of painting and gilding as early as Dugdale's time; and as we have no account of the coats of arms in the old chapel at Markenfield, the identification of several upon the tomb will be a matter of difficulty. First, however, we will speak of the effigy. Sir Thomas de Markenfield, to whom it is appropriated, was living in 1369, the forty-third year of the reign of Edward III. This is the only date furnished us by Brooke; but he appears to have been one of the witnesses in the celebrated Scrope and Grosvenor controversy (12th of Richard II, 1389), being at that time in the fortieth year of his age. Richard II's calamitous reign terminated by his deposition in 1399, at which period Sir Thomas Markenfield would only have been fifty. It is, therefore, very probable that he was living in the reign of Henry IV, if not of Henry V; and it is very unfortunate that Mr. Brooke,

who evidently had taken great pains to collect all the information he could respecting this family, should have apparently failed us at the precise moment when we should have been most grateful for his assistance. "Of Sir John, his son" (*i.e.*, the son of the said Sir Thomas de Markenfield, there is," he tells us, "little mention"; and he only records his marriage with Margaret, daughter of John Middleton, and his issue by her of two daughters and a son, John, who succeeded him. Sir John must, however, have been dead in or before the 14th of Henry VI, as in the *post mortem* inquisition of that year, on the decease of John Duke of Bedford, the great Regent of France, "John de Markyngfield," son of Sir John (for he is not styled "militis") was found to have held three knights' fees in Scorton and Erynn under that illustrious personage. There can be little doubt, therefore, that Sir John Markenfield, son of Sir Thomas, flourished during the reign of Henry V, the period to which all the details of the costume in which the effigy is represented decidedly point.

The interest we have in identifying the person thus depicted to us "in his habit as he lived," centres in the remarkable, and, as far as my experience extends, unique collar which the faithful pencil of our esteemed associate, the Rev. Charles Lukis, Rector of Wath, has enabled me to submit for your inspection. (See plate 18.) Mr. Walbran, who describes it as "exhibiting the design of a park-pale and a stag couchant above the elongated but depressed pales in front," does not in any way allude to its signification. It is, however, identical with the seal of the bailey or bailiff of Derby, distinguished from that of the borough and town of Derby, in which the stag is only depicted couchant amongst shrubs and trees, as may be seen in the visitation of the county, A.D. 1634, marked C. 33, Coll. Arms. But what is more interesting to us is the fact that the stag imparked appears to have been a badge of Henry Earl of Lancaster, Hereford, and *Derby*, afterwards King Henry IV; and may be seen on that most interesting memorial of Henry's visit to Venice, which we have so long erroneously considered as the gravestone of his antagonist, Thomas de Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who died in exile in that city. To my friend and brother officer, William Courthope, Somerset Herald, we are indebted for the dissipation of this error. During his tour in Italy last autumn he dis-

covered in the library at Venice indubitable proof of this fact; and it is now perfectly clear that the stag "lodged," as it is heraldically termed, in a park, which, under the impression that the sculpture had reference to the Duke of Norfolk, could only be supposed a variation of the badge of the white hart of Richard II, is the cognizance of the Earl of Derby; and we find it here appended to a collar of park-pales on the neck of a knight equipped in armour of the reign of that very Earl of Derby as Henry IV, or at latest of his chivalric son.

The question then naturally arises, Why is such a decoration found about the neck of this effigy? If, as we are told, the figure represents Sir Thomas de Markenfield, who was a warrior of the time of Richard II, are we to consider this collar and pendant significative of his loyalty to that unfortunate monarch, or of his attachment to the household or cause of Henry Bolingbroke? That it is not one of those cognizances of Richard, "*à la guise des cerfs blancs*," which were so pertinaciously worn by his devoted adherents, I think we may rest satisfied. In every example of them we meet with, on Richard's own robe in his effigy in Westminster Abbey, in the celebrated picture at Wilton, in the sculpture at Westminster Hall, and various other places, the white hart of Richard is seen either simply collared and chained, or "lodged," as it is termed, under a tree; never imparked, or encircled by pales, as it is represented in the arms of the bailiff of Derby, the memorial stone of Henry IV, and on this effigy. We must therefore conclude either that we have here a livery collar of the house of Lancaster, of which we have as yet been ignorant, or that the person on whose effigy it appears bore some office specially connected with the town of Derby; and I acknowledge that I incline to the former opinion.¹

Let us examine the evidence afforded us by the shields of arms still remaining on the tomb. They are fifteen in number, as Mr. Walbran correctly states, and present, it would seem, much the same appearance as they did nearly two hundred years ago when they were drawn by Dugdale. The fourth on the north side was a blank in his day; and, as I have already mentioned, if ever they were painted, all

¹ If I am correct in this supposition, it is remarkable in another point of view; for we find his great-grandson, the next Sir Thomas, a strenuous partisan of the opposing house of York, and munificently rewarded for his support by King Richard III.

traces of colour must even then have been lost. The first shield on the north side is fretty with a canton, which I should certainly set down for the coat of Middleton (*argent fretty sable*, a canton *gules*), but for a drawing by Glover, Somerset Herald, in his *Collections* (marked B. Coll. Arms), where I find, *or fretty sable*, a canton *gules*, for the arms of *Marchington*,—the difference being in the metal of the field only : and Sir John de Markenfield was returned as lord of Markington in the reign of Edward II. Still I believe the arms on the tomb to be intended for those of Middleton, Sir John de Markenfield, second of that name, son of Sir Thomas, to whom the tomb is attributed, having married, as I have stated, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Middleton. The second shield is also a most important one. It presents us with an eagle displayed,—no doubt for Soothill, *gules* an eagle displayed *argent*,—impaling five fusils in fess. Here again the absence of colour involves us in speculation ; but at the same time we have the clearest evidence that, if Sir Thomas de Markenfield married Dionisia, relict of Sir Henry Soothill, the lady could not have been a daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliam of Elmley, as in lieu of five fusils in fess, the impalement would have been lozengy. In the pedigrees of Fitzwilliam at the College of Arms, compiled by Segar and Brooke, the daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliam of Elmley (or Sir John, according to Segar), who married Sir Henry Soothill, is in every instance called Joan ; and Brooke, in his pedigree of Markenfield, though he sets down the wife of Sir Thomas as Dionisia, relict of Sir Henry Soothill of Soothill, knight, avoids stating whose daughter he considered her to be. The arms of Markenfield impaling those of Fitzwilliam were certainly to be seen in the chancel window of Darton Church ; and we are told that Dionisia had the manor of Darton in Dover ; but they may be as late as the reign of Henry VIII, when Thomas Soothill had married Margaret Fitzwilliam. And here, where those arms should specially appear, we find a different coat, which may be that of Percy or of half a dozen other families, as any one may see by turning to an ordinary of arms ; to say nothing of the daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliam being named Joan, and not Dionisia. Mr. Walbran informs me that the fusils on the shield at Ripon are surmounted by three roundels, which must in that case have been omitted



EFFIGY IN RIPON CATHEDRAL.



by Dugdale. This should lead us to a more direct conclusion; but in none of our ordinaries can I find such a coat. Five fessils in fess are seen with martlets, mullets, lozenges, and other charges in chief; but I can discover none with roundels, nor do I perceive in the Soothill pedigree a name to which I could attribute the coat.

The third shield, on which are three water bougets, is undoubtedly that of Ross. The fourth is unfortunately a blank, and was so, as I have stated, in Dugdale's time, thus leaving out a link of the chain. The fifth, a cross patée fleurée, may be claimed by several families, Latimer, Copley, or Ward. Joan, daughter of this Sir Thomas de Markenfield, let us remember, married Sir Roger Ward. The sixth is a simple bend, which may be Scrope.

On the opposite side the first shield presents us again with the bend. The second displays a lion rampant debased by a bend dexter; perhaps Sutton or Slingsby, some ancient seals of the latter family, drawn in Glover's *Collections*, displaying this coat. The third is drawn by Dugdale as a plain shield with a canton charged with a fleur-de-lys. I consider this, however, to be meant for the arms of Metham, quarterly *azure* and *argent*, in the first quarter a fleur-de-lys *or*. The fourth presents the arms of Markenfield. The fifth a fess which we cannot venture to speculate upon; and the sixth. Markenfield impaling three helmets crested with fleur-de-lys,—Minott. At the head of the tomb are three shields: the first charged with a saltier (Nevil?); the second with a chevron (Stafford?); and the third with the water bougets of Ross.

Supposing I have made a happy guess at some of these very doubtful coats, we are still very far from arriving at a satisfactory conclusion respecting either the decoration of the knight or the lineage of his lady. As usual in these early pedigrees, though we may trace with tolerable accuracy the male line, the wives are most provokingly omitted. Until we come to the first Sir Thomas de Markenfield, father of the Sir Thomas whose effigy we are now discussing, there is not one match recorded. His great-grandfather, Sir Roger, is, indeed, said to have left a widow named Maud; but of her family we are in total ignorance: and we have not even the Christian names of the wives of Simon, William, or the first Sir John who lived in the reign of Edward II.

Were it not for the capricious mode prevalent in the middle ages, we might hope that these shields, uncoloured as they are, would lead to a discovery of some of the alliances of the early lords of Markenfield; but no rule appears to have been observed in these heraldic decorations. Beyond the fact that there was some connexion between the families whose arms are sculptured on a monument, we have no means of deciding what that connexion must have been but by a laborious search amongst the fine rolls and inquisitions, or the discovery of some long hidden family muniments. The notes which I have now the pleasure of laying before you, extracted from Mr. Brooke's MSS., are the more valuable as there is scarcely any mention of the family of Markenfield in Mr. Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, where, under their manor of Scruton, I naturally looked for some important information. Nor do I find any notice of them in Mr. Hunter's histories of Doncaster or of Hallamshire; and the name is only once casually mentioned in Whitaker's edition of Thoresby's *History of Leeds*.

Having called attention to this subject, some of our friends in the latter hospitable town or its neighbourhood may, perhaps, assist us with local information of greater importance. In the meanwhile I shall neglect no opportunity of pursuing this inquiry, and endeavouring to arrive at the true history of the remarkable collar and pendant which has hitherto unaccountably escaped illustration by either the pen or the pencil.

Since the above was in type, Mr. Walbran has kindly sent me the following information: On taking up the pavement of the choir a few weeks ago, a fragment of the monument on which the head of the female effigy had rested, was found, having still on the side nearest to the male figure an object like a stag's horn; evidently part of the crest, which appears, from an example of the time of Edward VI, to have been "a hind's head." Mr. Walbran also discovered among the rubbish a thin piece of stone with the arms of Minott sculptured upon it, viz., three helmets, two and one.

DISCOVERY OF ROMAN REMAINS IN LONDON.

BY THOMAS BLASHILL, ESQ.

IN September 1863, while excavating for the foundation of a new warehouse in Dunstan's Hill, City, a number of remains of Roman and mediæval character were met with; and the attention of the Association was called to them by a letter to T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., Treasurer, from Edward Falkener, Esq., for whom the building was being erected.

The soil consisted in part of a few feet of gravel overlying the London clay, sloping down rapidly towards the south. The lower part of the site appeared to have consisted, at a remote period, of a creek running up from the river; and there were remains of piles and planking at depths below the level of high water. The tide flowed into this portion of the ground while the excavations were in progress. At a point about twenty-five feet from the line of frontage was found a well lined with chalk laid in regular courses, each about six inches deep; the average diameter of which was three feet two inches, and its total depth six feet ten inches. About a foot in depth of the bottom of the lining was composed in part of red bricks. (See plate 19, fig. 1.)

As to its date there exists no positive evidence, the sole contents being a quantity of animal bones of various degrees of blackness, and two or three pieces of iron and pottery of modern manufacture. The chalk lining was consistent in appearance with that found in wells of Roman construction; but it seemed clear from a careful examination, that, whenever it might have been made, it had been cleaned out, and partially underpinned with brickwork, probably in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Some bricks had also been inserted in the chalk lining. Near the top were holes left in the courses of chalk, as if for the insertion of a strong cross-timber.

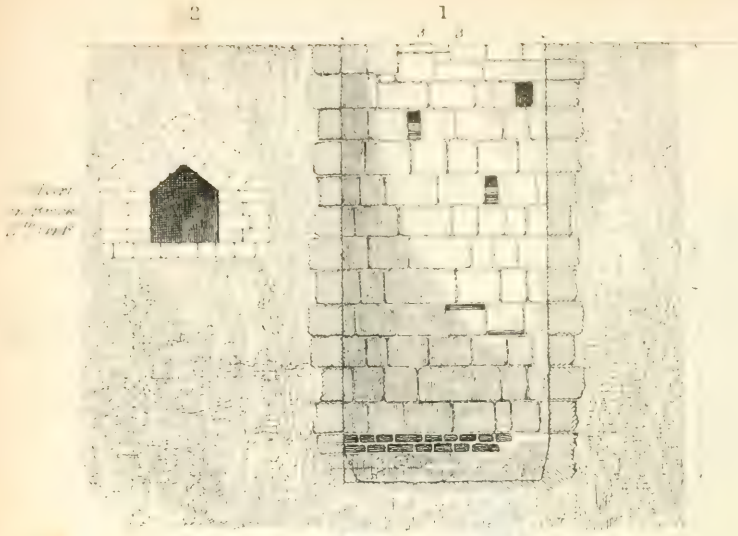
A culvert (fig. 2) built with bricks of similar kind ran near it from the northward, where there were springs; and being quite free from dirt and deposit, it had probably been used for the conveyance of water, but it did not join the well.

A few plain tiles were laid between the courses of chalk, and they may have been inserted during repairs; but it seemed equally probable that they formed part of the original construction, and in that view it would not be of great antiquity. The well being in the middle of one of the rooms intended to be made in the basement, and about ten feet higher than its floor, could not be preserved.

The remains of distinctly Roman character comprised the neck of an amphora, and the foot of another, composed of red clay; pieces of wall-plaster marked with a brown line; parts of flue-tiles of different kinds; several fragments of red Samian ware, some of them having interesting ornaments in relief; also, pieces of grey and dark-coloured pottery. Upon one fragment was a good representation of a stag in relief. Others were scored with lines and marked with dots.

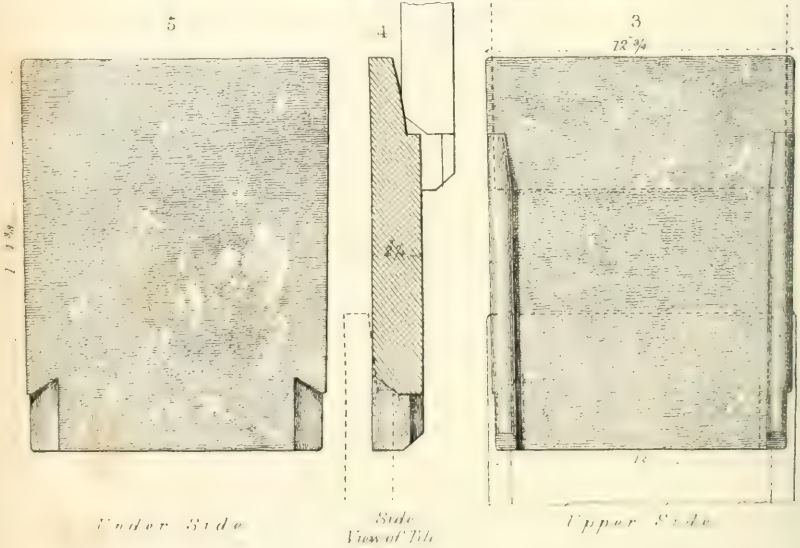
At the extreme north-eastern boundary of the ground, and under a portion of the ancient wall of St. Dunstan's churchyard, was found a mass of concrete and a cavity, which seemed to have been moulded upon a wooden coffin, and contained some human remains. Few of the bones were in good preservation; but a large portion of the lower jaw, having some fine teeth, was well preserved. The concrete was of great hardness, and contained portions of pounded brick. Some roofing tiles, similar in shape to the ordinary Italian tiles, were laid in a slightly arched form over the grave. Their length averaged one foot four inches and a half, and the width about twelve inches and three-quarters. The sides were turned up, forming flanges about an inch in height; and, when laid in their proper position upon a roof they would require to have narrow covering tiles placed over the flanges of adjoining roof-tiles, to prevent the passage of water. None of these were found, and it was evident that the large roofing tiles had been used with the object of affording additional protection to the grave. They were made of the coarse red earthenware of which the ordinary Roman tile or brick usually consists; and though irregular in shape, and very thick and heavy, they would, no doubt, form a good roof covering. To enable them to be fitted into each other, pieces were cut out of them at the points of contact, and the width at the lower end was less by about an inch than at the upper end.



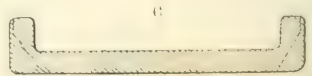


Wall found under a Building at St Dunstons Hill, City

Roman Tiles, forming covering to a Grave in Concrete.



Scale $\frac{1}{8}$ th Real Size



Section of Tile

One mediæval tile, four inches square, having a red ground with yellow lines, forming a good fret-pattern, was found; also a portion of a tile in green and yellow colours on a coarse, whitish ground, which was probably of the seventeenth century.

The whole of these are now in Mr. Falkener's possession.

REFERENCES TO PLATE 19.

Fig. 1.—Section of the well, shewing the bricks and plain tiles as they occurred in the chalk lining; also the brickwork which was found below the chalk, and appeared to have been used in underpinning the sides of the well.

Fig. 2.—The brick culvert or conduit in its position with respect to the well.

Fig. 3.—The upper surface of one of the roofing tiles. This and the next figure shew the tiles as they would be laid with respect to each other upon a roof, and not in the positions in which they were discovered.

Fig. 4.—Side-view of the tiles.

Fig. 5.—Under-surface of one tile. The parts cut away to fit the tiles to each other are shewn upon this and the preceding figure.

Fig. 6.—Cross-section of one of the tiles.

ON THE HUT-CIRCLES OF THE EASTERN SIDE OF DARTMOOR.

BY G. WAREING ORMEROD, ESQ., M.A., F.G.S.

THE remains known as "hut-circles," that now exist on the eastern side of Dartmoor, are situated for the most part on the high and unenclosed moors, at elevations varying from about a thousand to fourteen hundred feet above sea-level. They are all upon "the granite"; and this, I believe, is also the case, though I cannot speak with certainty, with the hut-circles situate on the western and southern sides of the moor. But I believe that in one or two cases the remains are found at lower levels on the western than on the side which is the immediate subject of this paper. Though partaking of one common character, the hut-circles vary slightly in size and style. In all the interior walls consist of long slabs of granite set on end perpendicularly, and so placed as to touch each other at the base. In the interior of the smaller and the most numerous class of huts the earth comes

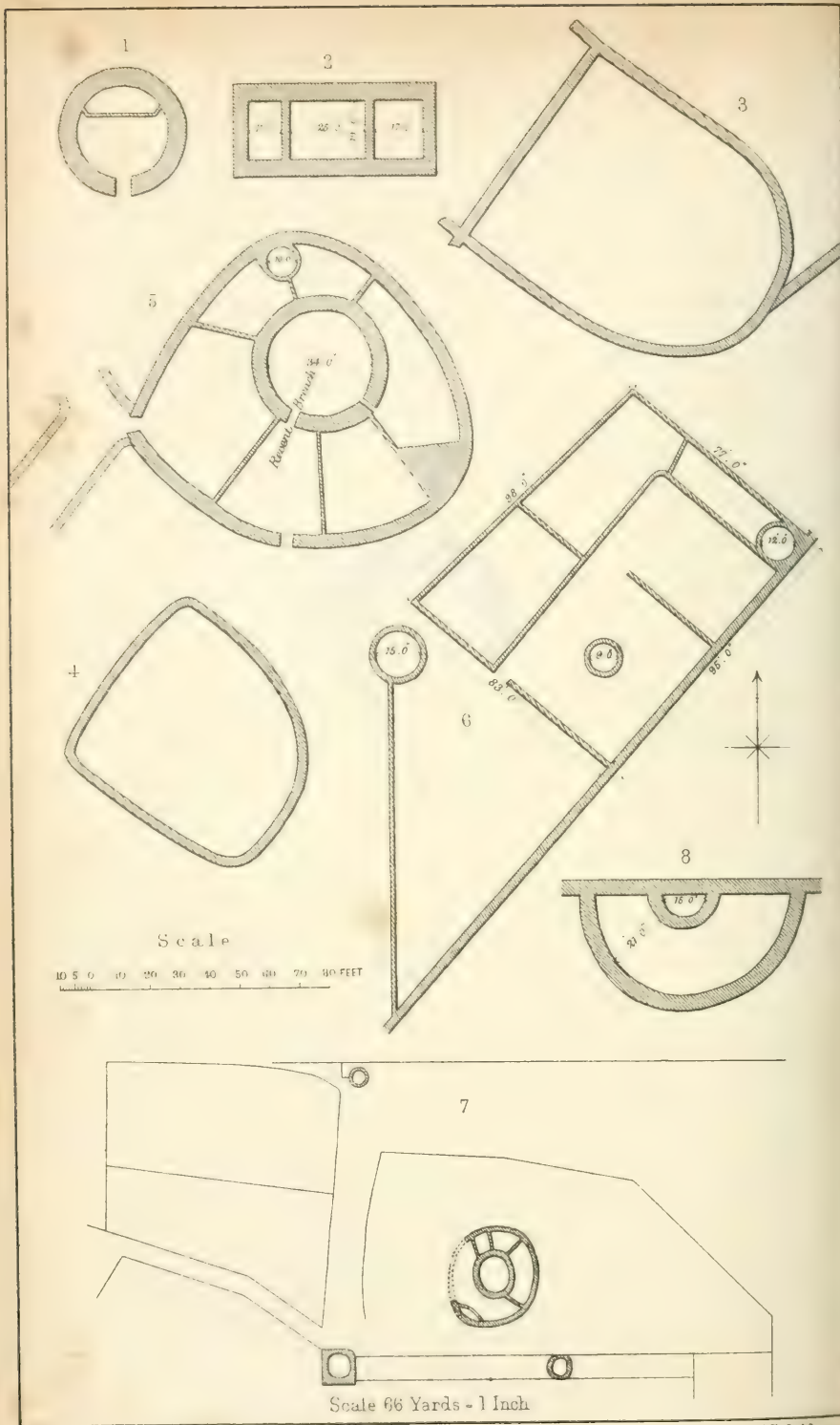
close to the upright stones; but occasionally, in some of the larger huts, a row of flat granite slabs, with the surface level with the ground, is placed against them. The exterior, in most cases, is composed of irregular blocks of granite placed roughly against the upright stones. In some cases the exterior has been built up carefully, the granite being laid in horizontal courses. Upright slabs, the jambs of the former entrances, often remain; and the opening generally faces from south-east to south-west. The height of the slabs forming the interior varies from about two to six feet. Several huts that differ from the general form, will be described when the places at which they are situate are noticed. The vicinity of Cawsand Beacon, about three miles to the south-east of Okehampton, is, I believe, the most northerly point to which the huts extend. A few exist near Taw Marsh, almost opposite to Belstone Tor, at the south-west base of Cawsand; but I have no knowledge of any to the west of that place. From near Cawsand the huts extend along the eastern side of the hills of the Dartmoor district almost to Rippon Tor, near Ashburton, a distance of about twelve miles; and from near Grimspound they can be traced along the north side of the watershed of the Dart, through the central valley of Dartmoor, to the well known remains at Merivale Bridge and the huts on the west of the moor.¹

On the summit of Cawsand (1,792 feet above sea-level) there are the remains of a kistvaen, some circles, and "pounds," and cairns; but I have not seen any huts, and believe that none have been traced, on this elevated spot.

To the south of Cawsand, immediately after crossing the brook forming the north-west boundary of the parish of Throwleigh, on the top of the rising ground, I am informed that a few huts exist, but have not been able to find them. Near Shellstone Tor (1,145 feet above sea-level), a little more to the south, four huts, varying in inside diameter from 30 to 33 feet, can be seen, and several have been destroyed. To the south of Shellstone, on Endsworthy Hill (in the year 1858), fourteen huts remained, varying in diameter from 23 to 36 feet. Several had been then recently destroyed in

¹ In the *Journal* of the Association for June 1862 (vol. xviii, plate 7), Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson has drawn a most excellent example of a large hut-circle near Castor, Dartmoor; and on plate 8 of the same paper, the hut-circles above Merivale Bridge. These are all referred to by Mr. Ormerod in the present communication.





enclosing land, and the soil about these did not appear to differ from that of the adjoining moors, and no remains had been discovered. One hut on Endsworthy Common differs from the general plan in having an inner chamber. (See plate 20, fig. 1.) The dividing wall does not extend in a line from side to side, but is turned back at the ends, forming an obtuse angle. The foundation of this wall is still perfect from end to end, and there is not any trace of a doorway. At a short distance from this hut there is a quadrilateral enclosure (fig. 2) divided by cross-walls into three compartments, respectively 11, 25, and 17 feet long and 19 feet wide. This is the only enclosure of this description that I have observed on the moor. The remains of old enclosure-walls, called "track-lines," are tolerably perfect near these last mentioned huts. Between Endsworthy and the North Teign, distant about one mile, I believe no huts exist.

Between the North and South Teign, on Teigncombe and the adjoining commons, there is the largest group of huts that exists on the east side of the moor. These remains of an old village are situate, for the most part, on the easterly side of a "track-line" that runs from near the North Teign at Batworthy Enclosure, by Kestor Rock (1,417 feet above sea-level), to near Middleton, almost overhanging the South Teign. On Shuffle Down, the hill lying to the west, opposite this "track-line," are the circles, stone-avenues, and kistvaen, described by Sir J. G. Wilkinson,¹ and by myself in the *Transactions* of the Plymouth Institution.² Two huts, some "track-lines," and two pounds,—one nearly semicircular (fig. 3), the other nearly triangular (fig. 4),—lay beyond these remains. They are very imperfect, and are, I believe, the most westerly remains of this description in this part of the moor. Between the supposed Druidical remains and the "track-line" passing by Kestor Rock, very few huts occur. To the north a few huts were, until recently, to be seen on the moor between the western wall of the enclosure of Batworthy Farm and the marsh by the North Teign. I am not aware if any huts now stand in the enclosed lands

¹ See *Journals* for 1860 and 1862, vol. xvi, pp. 101-132; vol. xviii, pp. 22-53, 111-133.

² Account of certain supposed British and Druidical Remains in the Parishes of Chagford, Gidleigh, and the adjoining Part of the Forest of Dartmoor. 1857-8. P. 20.

of that farm: but from their existing on two sides, and the remains of adjoining "track-lines" pointing across the farm, there is a strong probability that such has been the case; and that, like the stones from the neighbouring stone-avenues, they have been used to form the enclosure-walls. There is apparently only one original opening from Dartmoor in the "track-line" extending from the North Teign by Kestor, and this is by a road which enters from the moor between two walls near Batworthy Enclosure, and leads to the entrance of the outer court of the remains known as "The Round Pound" (fig. 5), the chief dwelling of the village, and then taking a slight sweep to the north, runs along the side of the hill above the North Teign to near the modern enclosures at Brimpstone Down, where it ceases, the stones having been removed. No huts adjoin this road; but several are situate a short distance from it, and are approached by what may be termed private roads between two walls. Another road runs parallel to this at a distance of about a quarter of a mile to the south, near the traces of an old quarry, and passes down amongst the huts to near the modern enclosures, and was possibly a continuation of the steep, rough way now known as Teigncombe Common Lane. There are in this village the remains of thirty-one huts, measuring from 9 to 36 feet in diameter.

The Round Pound appears to have been the most important building. It consists of two enclosures,—the outer, in form an irregular triangle; the inner circular, and placed near the northern angle of the triangle. The wall of the outer enclosure has fallen, and lies a confused mass of stone about 6 feet in diameter. The inside measure, from the apex of the triangle to the centre of the base, is about 95 ft. There appear to have been two entrances, one on the south side, and the other at the western angle; the last opening upon the road from the moor above mentioned. The inner diameter of the circular enclosure is about 34 feet. The wall, where perfect, is about 5 feet in thickness. The interior is formed in the same manner as the walls of huts, by slabs of granite set on end, of from 3 to 6 feet in length, and 12 to 18 inches in width. Care has been taken with the outside casing, as large stones are laid for a foundation; and above these smaller stones are laid flat, in irregular courses, and the casing has gradually been diminished in

the upper part. The entrance (2 feet wide) is clearly marked by two jambs at the south-east. An aperture, 4 feet wide, exists on the south-westerly side; but this is a recent breach in the wall. The space between the circular hut and outside wall was divided into six courts by walls apparently about 3 feet wide; and a hut, 10 feet in diameter, occupies the northern angle of the triangular enclosure. A triangular space, which appears to have been subdivided, was formed in one of the southerly courts by a wall taken diagonally from the dividing to the outer wall.

The Square Pound (fig. 6) is situate about 80 yards to the south-east of the Round Pound; and most of the stones, except the foundations, have been removed. It consists of, firstly, a triangular court containing about 500 square yards, which has its entrance between a hut-circle 15 feet in diameter, and the western side of a quadrilateral enclosure measuring on the north-westerly side 98 feet, on the north-easterly 77 feet, on the south-easterly 95 feet, and on the south-westerly 83 feet. This enclosure has its entrance about the centre of the north-easterly side of the triangular enclosure which leads into a court measuring about 50 feet on each side, with a detached hut of 9 feet diameter in the centre. An inner court of about 50 by 30 feet is entered from this court; and two enclosures lay between these and the outer wall on the north-west side; and one enclosure, having a hut 12 feet diameter, at the south-easterly end, between the inner court and the north-east wall.

At Frenchbere and Thornworthy, above the left bank of the South Teign, there are a few huts. On the right bank of the South Teign, opposite Thornworthy, at Metherell, there are six huts measuring from 23 to 30 feet in diameter,—five of the usual description, the sixth having the walls built with horizontal layers of stone. Distant from the last huts about half a mile, by the sides of a small feeder of the South Teign, near Fernworthy, there are ten huts measuring from 15 to 32 feet. The only peculiarity to be specially noticed is the situation of a hut, 15 feet in diameter, placed nearly in the centre of a quadrangular enclosure measuring about 48 by 93 feet.

The remains of huts can be seen near “The Greywethers,” on the banks of the East Dart, about a mile and a half from Fernworthy, and will be noticed hereafter.

The next site of huts on the eastern side of Dartmoor, is near Ridge Lea, on the eastern side of Hurson Ridge, distant about one mile from Fernworthy. A few scattered and very dilapidated huts and walls there occur; and many traces of old enclosures extend along the Ridge towards its termination at the old beacon at King's Boon, above New-house. Near Lakeland, on the opposite side of the brook to Ridge Lea, there are four huts measuring from 19 to 25 feet in diameter; and at a short distance on Bushdown, near the Moreton and Tavistock road, two more huts, of 18 and 21 feet diameter, occur. After an interval of about half a mile, the remains of old enclosures are seen on the northerly end of Shapley Down, above Moor Gate. Two circles stand in the enclosures, measuring 25 and 26 feet in diameter; and another, also inside the enclosures, adjoins this eastern bank or wall; and on the outer side of that bank there are two semicircular enclosures,—a form of very rare occurrence,—and from these a view of the sea off Teignmouth and the Ness at Shaldon is obtained.

At Bovey Combe Head, a valley sloping to the east, near the summit of the hill, in a very commanding situation, there are some curious and extensive remains of a character very similar to that of the Round Pound (fig. 7). The chief remains consist of the foundations of a circle about 25 feet in diameter, contained within an outer wall that may be regarded either as an irregular circle or a square with the angles rounded off. The circle is not in the centre of the external enclosure, being distant from it 37 feet at the nearest, and 63 at the most distant point. The outer enclosure, like that of the Round Pound, has been divided into courts. Four dividing walls can be traced from the inner to the outer enclosure on the north-easterly side; but the ruins are not sufficiently perfect to show if the remaining part of the enclosure was divided. About 40 feet from the outer wall, on the south side, a wall runs about 340 feet in length; and below it, at the distance of 18 feet, a parallel wall, about 70 feet distant from the easterly end, there is a hut occupying the whole of the space between the lines; and at their westerly ends there are traces of a strong building having the north-easterly angle rounded off, and the other angles rectangular. The interior is circular. This stands at the commencement of a road between two walls

leading upon the moor. A hut also is placed at the entrance from another part of the enclosure to the moor.

From Hookner Tor, near these remains, and the summit of the hill, an extensive view is obtained over Dartmoor. In the valley below there is the Headland Tin Mine, and in the east that of Vitifer. The hill between is deeply furrowed by the open tin-workings of an unknown period, locally known as that of "The Old Men." Seen over these workings, distant about three miles, is Bellevert Tor, an insulated, conical hill; and between Vitifer and this tor the country is studded with huts, to which attention will be directed in a later part of this paper.

Near to Headland, in a cross valley, is the well-known Grimspound.¹ The enclosure, according to a very exact map made by Mr. A. C. Shillibeer in 1829, contains 4 acres. The fallen wall covers 1 rood and 3 perches. The enclosure is not circular: the diameter from north-east to south-west is nearly 500 feet, and the cross diameter nearly 470 feet. In some parts portions of the original wall still remain; but in most places it has fallen, and forms a rough bank of stone. A modern horse-track from Headland to Manaton passes through the enclosure; but the original entrance is apparently on the south-east side. There are within the enclosure sixteen single huts; three double huts, or two adjoining; and three triple huts. They are all small, varying from 6 to 12 feet in diameter. There are also a few small enclosures; and part of the brook Grimslake has been diverted so as to run through the lower part of the enclosure. Grimspound lies in the hollow of a very narrow, deep valley; and is so completely overlooked and commanded on three sides by rapidly rising ground, that it cannot, as has been suggested, have been designed for purposes of defence. A few huts lay near Grimspound, to the south, on the hill-side.

On Hamildon Down there are several barrows; but I have not seen, or been informed, of the existence of any huts either on that hill, or in this district, between Grimspound and Honey Bag Tor, near Widdicombe, in the moor, distant about two miles.

At Honey Bag Tor, as I was informed by the late Dr.

¹ The reader is here referred to Sir Gardner Wilkinson's paper, "On British Remains on Dartmoor," in the eighteenth volume of this *Journal*; and for an accurate view of Grimspound, on plate 2, fig. 19, as seen when visited by that learned antiquary.

Croker of Bovey Tracey, there are foundations of huts ; but I have not myself seen them. At a short distance from that place, near Tor Hill, and opposite to Rippon Tor, there are a few huts and enclosures arranged according to a very regular plan. An old road passes near the centre of the enclosures. There are six huts measuring from 15 to 24 feet; but the chief feature is a double enclosure of nearly a semi-circular form, being the only example of this description with which I am acquainted (fig. 8). The diameter of this inner semicircle, measured along the bank, is 15 feet ; the average width between the inner and outer banks is 21 feet. Mr. Rowe, in a paper printed in the *Transactions* of the Plymouth Institution (1830), in speaking of his visit to this place, says: "The western side of the hill, looking towards Widecombe, has some erect circles of stone, closely set, in the act of being demolished for repairing the road!" Dr. Croker informed me that, within his memory, huts existed near the point where the road to Bovey Tracey turns off from the Chagford and Ashburton roads at Swallerton Gate. These have now been all destroyed. At Rippon Tor, I believe, the hut-circles on the eastern side of the Dartmoor district cease.

It will probably have been noticed that the huts have been described as lying in groups. Such is almost always the case. A solitary hut is very rarely seen. The first group extends from near Shilstone Tor to Endsworthy; the second lies between the North and South Teign, and extends to Fernworthy; the third reaches from Hurston Ridge to Bovey Combe Head and Grimspound ; and the fourth from Honey Bag Tor to Rippon Tor. These are separated by breaks in the country; and their boundaries are not governed by those of either parishes or manors, or of the Forest of Dartmoor; and at each of them there is one dwelling of a character superior to the rest. In the first, "the hut with a chamber, and the neighbouring quadrangular enclosure"; in the second, "the Round Pound and nearly adjoining Square Pound"; in the third, "the strong enclosure at Bovey Combe Head"; and in the fourth, "the large double semicircle."

Before concluding, it will not be foreign to the purpose of this paper shortly to mention the situations of huts on the remaining portions of Dartmoor with which I am acquainted.

Following the East Dart from near the Greywethers'

circles, huts can be traced along its banks to Hartland; and at Ringhill Farm, near Post Bridge, there were many huts. Between Vitifer Mine and the East Dart, on Pistil Mire, and from Riddon to Bellevert Tor, they are numerous; and they are seen at Yar Tor, near the confluence of the East and West Dart. Between the East Dart and Cherrebrook, from Bellevert Hill to Lakehead Hill, and at Archerton, and to the west of the Cherrebrook at Smith's Hill, Newtake, the huts occur; and they can also be seen between Whistman's Wood and Two Bridges on the West Dart. These are all on the north watershed of the river Dart. Between Two Bridges and Merivale Bridge on the Walkham river, on the west of Dartmoor, distant about three miles, I am not aware of the existence of any huts. They are seen at the supposed Druidical remains at Merivale Bridge, which have been frequently described;¹ and to the north, at Cock's Tor and Lint's Tor, on the same stream. To the south of Merivale Bridge, on the western branch of the Plym (according to Mr. Rowe), they occurred to the south of Hessary Tor, at Black Tor near Stanlake, and Sheep's Tor; at Shangle Moor, near the junction of the above stream with the East Plym; at Shavercombe Head, on the central ridge of the southern part of Dartmoor, about 1,600 feet above sea-level; and near Erme Springs in the same district. The huts in the central valley of Dartmoor, and on the west and south sides, like those on the eastern, also lie in groups.

Although these hut-circles extend over so large an area of country, many inquiries have not enabled me to discover the slightest local tradition either as to their date, or the persons who erected them, or the purposes for which they were built. One point, however, in connexion with them must strike the eye of the geologist, namely, that there are traces of "tin streaming," or of "the workings of the old men," or of both, near to every group of huts. Where the traces of searching for tin ore are extensive, the huts are many; where it is otherwise, the huts are few. The huts, too, are

¹ Antiquarian Investigations in the Forest of Dartmoor, Devon. By Samuel Rowe, B.A. In *Transactions* of the Plymouth Institution, 1830, p. 179.—Plans of Ruins at Merivale Bridge. By Major Hamilton Smith. In the same, p. 212.—Tamar and Tavy. By Mrs. Bray. 1836, vol. i, p. 140.—Perambulations of Dartmoor. By Rev. Samuel Rowe, A.M. 1848, p. 182.—On the Rock-Basins of Dartmoor and some British Remains in England. By Sir Gardner Wilkinson, D.C.L., F.R.S. *Journal of Archaeological Association*, vol. xvi, pp. 101-132; and vol. xviii, pp. 22-53, 111-133.

rarely absent from traces of "tin streaming." The only places within my knowledge where they are conspicuously so, are on the upper waters of the streams rising in the central morass of Dartmoor (where one single hut, near Fur Tor, is the only one known), and on the cultivated land in the lower valleys. In the latter case, even if they had once existed, they would long ago have been applied to the purposes of walling when the enclosures were made. In the former, had they been erected, they would most probably have still existed; but as the upper waters of the Teign, Dart, and Tavy, are within a short distance of the huts at Greywethers, Hartland, Whistman's Wood, and Lint's Tor, and could have been easily "streamed" from thence, it is probable that even those exposed spots would be preferred by the tinnerns (if such were the inhabitants) to the dreary and inclement central waste of Dartmoor.

Remains very similar to those above mentioned exist in other parts of the United Kingdom, and have been described by various authors: but as this memoir is strictly confined to the huts of the Dartmoor district, no comparison has been made with those existing elsewhere.

THE MONUMENTAL CROSSES AT ILKLEY AND COLLINGHAM.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P. AND TREASURER.

DURING the Congress of the Association held at Leeds in the autumn of 1863, under the presidency of Lord Houghton, it was arranged, in the course of one of the excursions, to pay a visit to Ilkley-on-the-Wharfe, the modern representative of the Roman town of *Olicana*; and no little interest was excited by the remains of three early crosses which are now preserved in the churchyard. The weather proved unpropitious for their examination; but by the kind attention of the Rev. John Snowden, M.A., Vicar of Ilkley, Mr. Gordon Hills, and Mr. Edward Roberts, they were well inspected and discoursed upon. These monuments are not only important in themselves, but in connexion with other similar crosses which are, or were, found scattered over this county,



as at Collingham, also "on the Wharfe," and supposed to occupy the site of a Roman station at Dewsbury, and at Leeds itself, where fragments of such crosses had been used as building materials in the old parish church; and formed the subject of an excellent paper by an early associate of our body, read before one of the local societies.

The most remarkable of the fragments now arranged at Collingham, and fragments obtained from Leeds, will be sufficient to give a good notion of their general character; although their present condition, produced by time and ill usage, is such as to have been most unfavourable to the photographer whose aid has been sought to render the objects as accurately as possible.

Our learned associate Mr. Thomas Wright has well stated that it has been the custom to term all monuments of this kind, of which a certain number still remain in the northern districts of England, *runic*. The word *rune*, in the various Teutonic and Scandinavian dialects, meant simply an alphabetical character, and could not properly apply to one which was only ornamented with scroll-work, etc.; so that the term, as frequently applied, is not quite a correct one. Moreover, there are two distinct alphabets of runes, Anglo-Saxon and Norse, differing much from each other, and generally belonging to two different historic periods, as they are the work of two different peoples. Norse runic inscriptions are found on monuments in the Isle of Man and in the north of Scotland; but all the runic inscriptions hitherto found within the limits of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria belong to the Anglo-Saxon alphabet and the Anglo-Saxon language. Where their age can be discovered, they are found to date from the early ages of Christianity among the Northumbrian Angles; in fact, the cross which formerly stood at Dewsbury is said to have commemorated Paulinus himself, the apostle of the Northumbrians, and his preaching in this locality.

It has been clearly shown that these crosses are sepulchral monuments. A larger cross appears to have been placed at the head, and a smaller one at the foot, of the grave of the distinguished dead. One of the Collingham crosses possesses a great historical interest, for it had around its base a runic inscription in Anglo-Saxon alliterative verse, which has been deciphered with great skill and ingenuity as follows:

† (Edilblæd this settæ
æfter ginifæ,
ymb Auswini cyning,
gicegæd der saule.

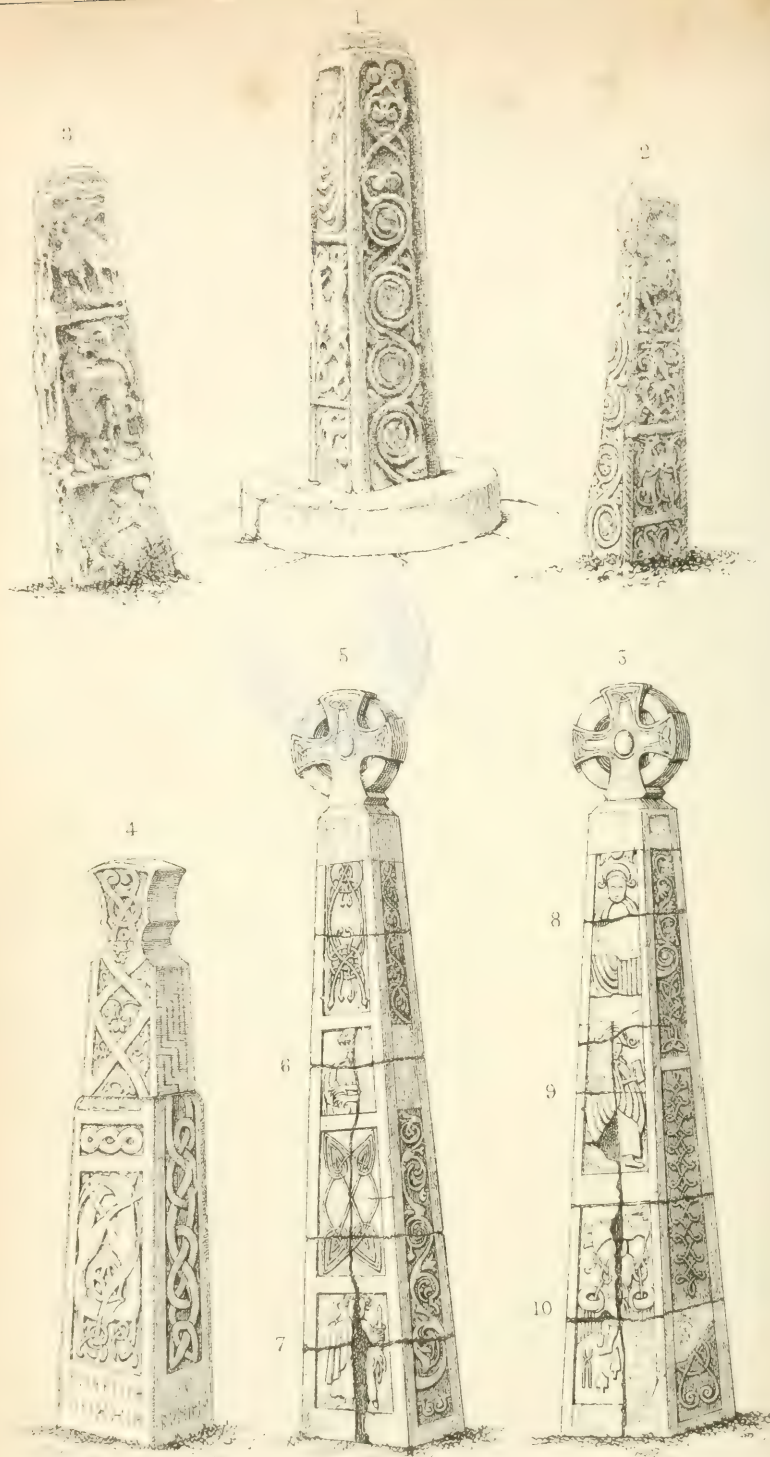
(Edilblæd this set
after her nephew,
after Auswini the king.
pray for the soul.

Auswini was, no doubt, St. Oswin, king of Northumbria, who reigned from A.D. 642 to 650, and was murdered by his rival, Oswin. Bede informs us that, when he saw that it was in vain to contend against his more powerful antagonist, he sought concealment at a place called Gætlingum, trusting to the gratitude of one of his earls named Hunwald, to whom he had been a great benefactor; but Hunwald betrayed him, and he was murdered there. The scene of this murder has always been supposed to be Gilling, near Richmond, in Yorkshire; but there are not wanting good reasons for identifying the “æt Gætlingum” of Bede with Collingham, and for considering this to have been the cross which stood at the head of King Oswin’s grave there, whence his body was afterwards removed to Tynemouth. The king’s aunt, Æthelblæd, to whom he owed this memorial, was perhaps a princess who had embraced the religious life, but of whose name we have no other record. This cross may, therefore, be considered as dating from soon after the middle of the seventh century.

The crosses at Ilkley are, perhaps, as ancient, or nearly as ancient, as those at Collingham, but unfortunately we have as yet less assistance in tracing their history. They have not been treated respectfully; for two of them were used, but a few years ago, as stile and gate-posts to the churchyard. The most perfect has been long erect in the middle of the churchyard. The basement stone, on which it stands, is buried under the ground; and, if it were uncovered, would probably be found to bear a runic inscription similar in character to that discovered at Collingham. On one side of this cross the symbols of the evangelists are represented in so many compartments, under the form of human figures, each with the head of the animal which was his symbol. On the other side is the figure of our Lord, with figures of monstrous animals underneath. The other crosses of the Ilkley group are much broken and defaced; but on one, two human figures facing each other, and figures of animals, may be traced.

In 1838 some fragments of crosses were discovered in the





walls of the belfry and clerestory of the old parish church of Leeds. They have been regarded as belonging to different dates, extending from a period between the seventh and tenth centuries, and originally employed as sepulchral memorials. They, when put together, can be made to form four-sided columns of stone, tapering from the base to the summit; and in some cases, if not in all, may be looked upon as terminating in a cross formed of a separate stone mortised into the shaft. Of the height of those to which the Leeds fragments appertain, it is now not possible to form any precise estimate, crosses of this description having been found to vary from three to eighteen or twenty feet.

The Leeds fragments, of different dates, may be taken satisfactorily to indicate the existence of a religious establishment on the site of the old parish church at an early period. From the life of St. Gildas, who flourished in the fifth century, Mailoc, his brother, is noticed as having been a person distinguished by the extent of his learning, and renowned for his piety. He is considered to have built a monastery at *Luihes* in the district of *Elmail*, which may perhaps, without any great violence of propriety, be read *Luides* and *Elmed*, i.e., LEEDS and ELMET. Leaving, however, this conjecture to be rejected or established by future researches, it may be remarked that, in the neighbourhood, are also to be found similar monuments; for we learn that in Raistrick churchyard the base or shaft of a cross, 2 ft. 4 ins. high, tapering from about 2 ft. 8 ins. to 2 ft. 1 in., and from 2 ft. 4 ins. to 1 ft. 10 ins., with the socket in which the cross was fixed; at the top, 13 ins. by 10, and 9 ins. deep. Three sides, the northern, southern, and eastern, are divided into two panels by a vertical line having simple fret-work, scrolls, and foliage; whilst the remaining, or western side, may probably have an inscription, but such has not yet been sought for. On Hartshead Moor also, adjoining to the church, there is a shaft of a cross commonly known as "Walton's Cross." This presents similar characteristics, a fret-work with device of a cruciform shape in a circle with scrolls and birds. These will be found to correspond with the crosses at Ilkley, appearing almost as the work of the same hand.

The Ilkley crosses are represented on plate 21, figs. 1, 2, 3, as they appear at the present time. Fig. 1 stands on a pedestal, and is 8 ft. in height by 16 ins. square at the base,

tapering upwards. At the upper part of one of the faces of the column there is a representation of a figure with a nimbus,—probably that of the Saviour or one of the Evangelists; though this can scarcely be the case, as the symbols of these are conjectured to be represented on the eastern face in oblong compartments,—human figures in flowing robes, each with the head of the animal which is his symbol surrounded by a glory, and holding the book of his gospel. Thus St. John, the uppermost, has the head of an eagle; St. Luke, the next, that of a bull; St. Mark that of a lion; and St. Matthew, as usual, as a human figure. This symbolisation is rather unusual; but there are not wanting instances in which the Evangelists have been so treated. The figure alluded to, and presumed to be that of the Saviour, represented in the plate, would seem to have had an inscription above his head. The figure is followed by apparently two animals whose lower extremities are intertwined and knotted together so as to form some monstrous animal. The lower figure cannot be made out. The spiral scrolls, foliage, etc., need no description.

Fig. 2 shows the fret-work more sharp and apparent, and some of the scroll-pattern here given is of an elegant form.

Fig. 3 has suffered most from time and other injury. The figures represented would appear to be those of animals; but it is impossible to assign them to any known species, or to any ordinary representations of fabulous animals.

Fig. 4 represents some of the fragmentary portions forming one of the three or four crosses at Collingham. One of these crosses is about 5 ft. high, and has on each side three figures, presumed to be those of saints, in arches ranged one above another, the lowest series being separated from the upper by a band of scroll-work following the line of the arch. The figures are sculptured full-faced and in profile.

The portions of the Collingham cross here given, it will be seen, do not fit in exact correspondence, nor does the ornamentation agree in regard to continuity. They, however, display the kind of ornamentation employed, exhibit different kinds of fret-work panels, convoluted scrolls, interlacing knots, ribbon-pattern, etc. On the lower part may also be traced figures monstrously distorted and interwoven with each other, foliage, fruit, etc. At the base are inscriptions in runic characters, reading—

AUSWINIC
YNINGGIC.

The upper portion of the cross presents a limb of the head of a cross, having knot-work at the sides of it. A simple fret appears on the narrow side, and on the front there are interlaced branches with fruit and foliage. Behind the knot following this division are traces of an inscription, which has been rendered—

† CEDILBLED

T.E.

The fragments constituting, it is believed, only a portion of what were met with upon the demolition of the old parish church of Leeds, when placed together, as shown in plate 21, fig. 5, forms a cross with circle, having an interlaced pattern in each of the four limbs of the cross and a boss in the centre. This has been conjectured to have formed one of the corners of an altar, the sides of which may have been ornamented with similar work; an example of which, having no less than five crosses at the top, is in San Ambrogio, at Milan; the workmanship of which, however, has been assigned to so early a period as the sixth or seventh century. In general aspect it may be compared to the one at Nevers.¹ The knots in the limbs of the cross bring to mind those on the sepulchral slab on the cross at Braddan, Isle of Man, assigned to the tenth century;² and on a fragment at Bakewell, Derbyshire.³ Two of the sides



Bakewell.



Nevers.

of the shaft of the example under consideration present some singular features. They are divided into panels which are severally occupied with interlaced ribbon-work and figures. With one of the

¹ See *Journal*, i, 145.

² See *Journal*, i, 148.

³ *Ib.*, ii, 303, fig. 8.

effigies are seen the fore-legs of an animal, seemingly a lion (fig. 6); and if so, perhaps St. Mark may have been intended. The lowest panel in the same side is filled with a standing figure (fig. 7) habited in a mantle open in front so as to exhibit an under garment. A bird is on the shoulder, just as we find in old paintings and sculptures, representing a dove standing on the shoulders of the saints Basil the Great, Cunibert, David, Gregory the Great, Hilary of Arles, Peter of Alcantara, Peter Celestin, Severus of Ravenna, and Thomas of Aquin. The date of the Leeds monument of course forbids the image being that of either of the Peters or Thomas of Aquin; but it is not impossible that it may represent Pope Gregory the Great, who was popular in England, no less than twenty-five churches having there been dedicated to his honour; and that of Frithelstock, Devon, to him conjointly with St. Mary. In the church of Nôtre Dame de Chartres is a thirteenth century statue of Pope Gregory with the Holy Spirit on his right shoulder, and holding a cross-staff in his left hand; which may be the object held by the figure in the Leeds relie, which in the engraving has the appearance of a sword. The upper figure on the other side of this cross (fig. 8) seems to be the Saviour with the dove descending on him. The second effigy (fig. 9) wears an ample cloak of many folds, and holds a volume in the hand; whilst the lowest panel displays a most curious subject, not easy to explain, though it may have reference to the final judgment (fig. 10). The principal figure appears to have wings spreading from the hips, and with the hands upraised grasping the hair and dress of a female whom he is dragging down or supporting horizontally upon his head. Beneath are seen pincers, spear, and hammer, the well known emblems of the passion of our Lord. The scroll-work on other parts of the shaft is of elegant character, and such as is met with on fonts, etc., down to the middle of the twelfth century. It is a difficult matter to fix the exact age of the Leeds cross, but it is in all probability a work of the eleventh century.

THE NINE WORTHIES OF THE WORLD,

IN ILLUSTRATION OF THE PAINTINGS IN AMBERLEY CASTLE.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., ROUGE CROIX, HON. SEC.

"The Nine Worthies of the World," or "the Nine Worthly Conquerors," as they are sometimes called, are alluded to by so many popular authors, Shakespeare included, that they are tolerably familiar to even the general reader; and most antiquaries are aware that the heralds of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have assigned to each of these worthy personages a coat of arms with as much gravity as they have to Adam, Noah, and other antediluvian celebrities. But the arms, and even the names, of the Conquerors differ in nearly all the lists; and it is quite evident that the painters and illuminators who introduced either the portraits or the arms of the "Nine Worthies" in the decoration of a building or the ornamentation of a manuscript, allowed themselves pretty considerable latitude in the selection of their authorities; if, indeed, they did not give free rein to their imaginations, and set the authorities, such as they were, at defiance.

Mr. John Gough Nichols, in the second part of his new serial, *The Herald and Genealogist*, for November 1862, gives us several of these lists and variations, in conjunction with some remarks on the monument to Robert Duke of Normandy in Gloucester cathedral, upon which the arms of one set of "Nine Worthies" are depicted. There are several others, however, which he has not noticed, particularly those in Favine's *Théâtre d'Honneur*, a translation of which was published in 1623;¹ and one in a German book of arms published at Nuremberg, by Paul Fursten, in 1657,² which contain some curious varieties. The latter commences with the "three good Jews,"—Prince Joshua, King David, and Judas Maccabæus; followed by the "three good heathens," Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, and Julius Cæsar; and concludes with the "three good Christians," the Emperor Charlemagne, King Arthur, and Duke Godfrey de Boulogne.

¹ *Théâtre d'Honneur et de Chevalrie*, par Andrien Favine. Fol. Paris, 1620.
—*Theater of Honour and Knighthood*. Fol. London, 1623.

² *Das erneuerte Teutsche Wappenbuch*. Zufinden bey Paulus Fursten, Kunsthandler in Nurnberg, 1657. Erster Theil. i.

These names accord with those in the most commonly received lists: but the arms assigned to them differ widely from any mentioned by Mr. Nichols, as do also those given by Favine. To wit. The coat of Joshua in the German *Wappenbuch* is engraved, *azure*, three bulls' heads caboshed *argent*, langued *gules*; totally unlike any other that I have seen assigned to that worthy. Favine begins his list with Jason, who bore *gules*, semée of teeth, out of which issued the heads of men armed with helmets *argent*, a golden fleece in pale, horned *azure*. He admits, however, that other romancers, as he contemptuously calls them, set down in the first place Joshua, whom they make to bear, *or*, a lion's head erased *gules*.¹

King David's usual coat, *azure*, a harp *or*, is differenced in the German book by a border *partie-crenellée argent* and *gules*; or, as Favine blazons it, *argent* diapered *gules*. Judas Maccabæus, in the German list, in lieu of two or three ravens, as in other catalogues,² displays, *sable*, a lion rampant *or*; in chief, the word Maccabee in Hebrew characters: while Favine gives two entirely different coats for the same personage: 1, *or*, a basilisk *sable*, membered and crowned *gules*; and 2, *or*, a rocky mountain *sable* charged with an anchor, in pale *argent*, on the stock of which the word Maccabæus in Hebrew characters. At the same time he tells us that the princes of Medon, of the family of Judas, bore, *synople* (*i.e.*, *vert* or *green*), a ship armed and fretted *argent*.

Hector, in the *Wappenbuch*, has a very remarkable coat, *sable*, semée of trefoils slipped *argent* on a bend sinister *or*, three lions' paws of the first. Favine assigns to him, *or*, a lion *gules*, seated in a chair *sable* (others say *purpure*), holding in his paws a halberd *argent*, the staff *azure*, the lion langued and armed of the last.³

Alexander the Great, in the *Wappenbuch*, bears, *sable* a griffin segreant *or*. Favine says, *or* a lion *gules*, langued and armed *azure*.⁴

¹ The coat of Joshua, in MS. L. 8, Coll. Arm., is given as, fretty *or* and *argent*, a wyvern *sable*. In another MS. in the same library, marked "M. 5," the arms of the "Nine Worthies" are given nearly all different, and with crests. They have been printed by Mr. Nichols.

² *Or*, three ravens *sable*. L. 8, Coll. Arm. Gerrard Legh "two." And *azure*, a lion passant *or*, with a man's head in a red hat. M. 5.

³ A similar coat is appropriated, in L. 8, to Alexander the Great; while to Hector is assigned, *sable*, two lions combattant *or*.

⁴ *Or*, three bells *gules*. M. 5, Coll. of Arms.

Julius Cæsar, *argent*, a double-headed eagle *sable*, beaked and membered *or*. Favine blazons the field *or*, and the eagle crowned and armed *gules*.

Charlemagne has in both lists accorded to him the ordinary coat, viz., the Empire dimidiated with France ancient.

King Arthur, in the *Wappenbuch*, has, *gules*, three crowns *or*, two and one, instead of in pale; while Favine makes the crowns thirteen in number, four, four, four, and one; but adds, "a mere fable."¹

Godfrey of Boulogne, Jerusalem, impaling *sable* a lion rampant *or*. Favine omits the impalement; and, not content with the list he has given on the authority of these "romancers," favours us with one of his own, as follows:—Joshua, Gideon, Sampson, David, Judas Maccabæus, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Charlemagne, and Godfrey. Gideon and Sampson being substituted for Hector and King Arthur; and gives to Joshua for arms, *azure*, a sun *or*;² to Gideon, *sable*, a fleece *argent*, a chief *azure* guttée de larmes; to Sampson, *gules*, a lion, gisant, *or*, within an orb or border *argent* semée of bees, *sable*; and to David, *azure*, a lion *or*.

Shakespeare only names five of his nine worthies in the masque that terminates *Love's Labour Lost*; but amongst those five we find Hercules and Pompey, who do not appear in any of the other catalogues. Gerard Legh substitutes Guy Earl of Warwick for Godfrey de Boulogne; and on the tomb of Robert Earl of Gloucester we find King Edward the Confessor displacing either Jason or Joshua.

I have been led to this subject by the recent examination of a very interesting series of ancient paintings on panel in Amberley Castle, Sussex, adjoining the church, now under restoration by our valued friend and associate, Mr. Gordon Hills. Dallaway, in his *Rape of Arundel*,³ slightly notices these relics of mediæval art in the following words: "A very curious room is still preserved, with a covered ceiling of wainscot, and entirely painted by Theodore Bernardi.... The side panels exhibit a series of female figures with escutcheons of arms, supposed to be illustrative of Flemish provinces." He does not mention the number; but eight are still in existence, and a fragment of a ninth; and I think I shall be able to prove to you that these figures were intended

¹ Gerard Legh also says thirteen, "3, 3, 3, 3, and 1."

² So Sylvanus Morgan.

³ Hist. Western Sussex, vol. ii, Part I.

by the artist to represent the "nine worthy women," of whom much less is known than of the nine worthy gentlemen aforesaid.

Mr. Nichols has not even alluded to the ladies; and it will be, therefore, my agreeable duty to introduce you to them, premising that there is still more difference of opinion respecting their names and arms than we have found existing in the catalogues of the men.

John Ferne, in the first part of his *Blazon of Gentry*, entitled "The Glory of Genorosity" (ed. 1586), at p. 157 favours us with the names, and at p. 221 presents us with engravings of the arms of nine estimable fair ones. The information is conveyed in a supposititious dialogue between Paradin, a herald, and Sir Torquatus, a knight, whom I certainly cannot admit to be a mirror of chivalry, as he most ungallantly exclaims upon the first mention of them, "What! have you found worthies amongst women? I never heard thereof before!" Paradin proceeds to enlighten him by reciting the following list, commencing with three heathens, the first being no less than a goddess, viz., Minerva, who, he tells us, bore "on a crystal shield the head of that Fury Gorgon, Medusa, proper." The second, "Semiramis, queen of Assur" (Assyria), also called queen of Babylon and Ascalon, "did bear, *azure*, a dove *argent*." The third, "Tomyris, queen of Scythia, did bear, *azure*, Jupiter's thunderbolt *or*, shafted and winged *argent*." We then have three Jewesses,—Deborah (whom he calls "Debbora, judge of Israel"), he says, "did beare, *azure*, the letter *thau*, Hebrew, *argent*"; 2, Jahel, the Kenite, "did beare, *argent*, six nails *gules*"; 3, "Judith, lady of Bethulia, "did beare, *azure*, a chieftain's head coupée between two swords reversed barreways, *argent*; hilts, pomels, and neufs (?) *or*." The last three are Christians and sovereigns: 1, "Maude, empress of Almaine, inheritrix to the kingdome of England, duchesse of Normandy and countesse of Anjou, did beare in a feeelde, *gules*, two lions passaunt gardaunt *or*"; 2, "Elizabeth, heyre of Castile, wife to Ferdinando the fifthe, kinge of Arragon, did beare impaled, as you see, with Arrago' the coat of Castile, viz., a castell *or*"; 3, Johan, queene of Naples (and sister to Ladislaus, king of Hungarie), did beare impaled with the coate of Naples" (Bourbon branch, France ancient, a label of three points *gules*), "barry eyght peeces *argent* and *gules*," Hungary.

So far John Ferne; but in Paul Furstens *Wappenbuch*, before mentioned, we find the arms of another set of nine worthy women, varying considerably both in names and insignia. "The three good Jewesses" are, here, Esther, Judith, and Jael; the "three good heathens" are, Lucretia, Veturia, and Virginia; and the "three good Christians," Helena, Bridget, and Elizabeth. To Esther, queen of King Ahasuerus, the German herald has kindly accorded *azure*, a castle *or*; and as the castle is depicted with a large archway between two towers, it is probably intended to represent the King's Gate in which Mordecai, the Jew, persisted in sitting, to the great annoyance of Haman. To Judith is given, *gules*, a bend sinister *argent*, charged with a singular instrument, something resembling an ancient catchpole, *sable*. Whether intimating or not that she had availed herself of such means to secure the head of Holofernes, I cannot pretend to say; but the chieftain's head between two swords, assigned to the lady of Bethulia by Ferne, is to my mind a much more creditable heraldic escutcheon. Jael displays, *argent*, a pile transposed *gules*; three characters (which I cannot positively identify in any alphabet, but believe to be incorrectly drawn Hebrew), two in chief and one in base, all countercharged. The six nails assigned to her by Ferne are, again, infinitely preferable. Lucretia, the chaste wife of Collatinus, bears, *sable*, on a bend sinister *argent* two objects, which I will not undertake to describe, *gules*. I know nothing to which they bear the least similitude. A dagger would certainly have had more point in it. Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, displays, *gules*, a bend sinister *or*, surmounted by another of the first charged with the Roman letters S. P. Q. R. of the second. Virginia, that celebrated Roman maiden, bears, party per bend sinister *azure* and *gules*, in chief a dove with wings displayed *argent*. The Empress Helena of course bears the double-headed eagle of the Empire, *sable*, in a field *or*, charged on the breast with an escutcheon *gules*, a plain cross *argent*; and with these arms are impaled what the herald has assigned to her for her own or paternal coat, *gules* three crowns *or*. Bridget (St. Bridget, or St. Bride, I presume; but as there are two of that name in the Roman calendar I cannot undertake to say which) displays, party per bend *gules* and *azure*, over all a lion rampant *argent*, impaling *azure* three crowns *or*.

Rather a startling circumstance if the worthy lady were the virgin St. Bridget, the patroness of Ireland, commemorated by the venerable Bede; for she was married only to the church. The other Bridget, foundress of the monasteries of the Bridgittines, died July 23rd, 1373, and was a widow; but, notwithstanding the heraldic anomaly, I believe the holy recluse of Ulster, who was as much venerated in Germany as in her native land, is the Bridget of this catalogue of female worthies. The ninth is Elizabeth, queen of Hungary, presenting us with, *azure*, a lion rampant, barry *gules* and *argent*, which is Thuringia; impaling barry *argent* and *gules* for Hungary.

I have been particular in detailing all these heraldic absurdities, at the risk of being tedious, because each of the above lists differs not only from the others very considerably, but still more from that one which I believe the painter of the Amberley Castle panels to have partially adopted, and which is to be found in Andrew Favine's *Théâtre d'Honneur*, immediately following his catalogue of the nine male worthies, under this heading, "Of Nine worthy Ladies added to these Nine famous and worthy Men of the World."

"The same romancers," he observes, "have added or coupled with these 'Nine Worthies,' nine other as worthy and illustrious women; ladies of high deserving, whom the poets term 'women-warriors,' and by the name of Amazons, of whom you may here behold the arms and names according as I find them to be by them recorded:—1, Marthesia, or Marpesia, who bore, by their saying, *gules*, a griffin *argent*, langued and armed of the same, crowned with a laurel wreath *or*. 2, Lampedo bore parti: 1, *sable*, three queens' heads crowned *à l'antique*, *or*, with a border of the same; 11, *azure*, three bars wavy *or*. 3, Orythia, *azure*, a swan *argent*, membered *gules*; a canton charged with the first part of Lampedo (*viz.*, the three queens' heads in a border of the same). 4, Antiope. The full or entire arms of the first part of Lampedo (*viz.*, the three queens' heads in a border, as before); which declared that she ought to march second amongst the Amazons. 5, Penthesilia, *azure*, a bend *sable* charged with the first part of Lampedo (the queens' heads again), and six grilletts (*grelots*) *argent*, three and three. 6, Minthia, *azure*, three arm-chairs *or*, two in chief and one in point. 7, Hippolita, *or*, a lion *azure*, armed and

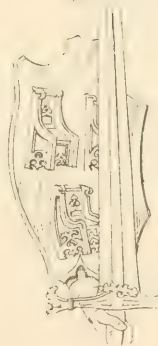
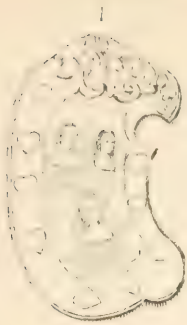
langued *gules*, holding in his fore-paws the shield of Antiope (the three queens' heads, as before). 8, Theuca, *argent*, an eagle *sable*, armed and langued *gules*, charged on the breast with the head of an ancient queen *or*. 9, Thamaris, *gules*, three leopards naissant *or*, langued and armed *vert*, two in chief and one in point; the shield semée of trefoils pierced *argent*."

But as dissatisfied with the list of ladies as we have seen he was with that of the gentlemen, M. Favine adds: "They should have placed in rank amongst these famous ladies the queens so highly renowned for prowess. Semiramis, of whom we have emblazoned the arms in the first book and first chapter; and Tomyris, who bore, *sinople* '(i.e., *vert*)' a lion eviré '(i.e., emasculated)' as one would say, *sans vilemie*, *argent*, crowned with laurel *or*, within a border crenellée *or* and *gules*, charged with eight trefoils *argent*."

He does not appear to have been aware that Tomyris is identical with Thamaris, queen of the Massagetæ, and conqueror of Cyrus the Great, whom he has just named as included in the list, but with a very different coat of arms; or that Semiramis was to be found in the catalogue of his predecessor, John Ferne. I shall not, however, stop to comment on the caprices of Favine or his contemporaries; nor on the false heraldry and obscure blazon of many of the coats of arms so absurdly appropriated to gods, goddesses, and real or imaginary personages of ancient or prehistoric times. The whole thing is beneath criticism, and only important to antiquaries as a warning not to be misled by the appearance of names and arms at variance with any they may have been accustomed to associate with the "Nine Worthies," male or female. For our Association, however, at the present moment, Favine's information has a special interest as illustrating the curious paintings in Amberley Castle. The female figures are all either in armour, or regally crowned and attired. Three out of the five which have been photographed, display shields (see plate 22) charged with ladies' heads. So also do two of the three remaining figures, of which Mr. Gordon Hills has favoured me with a description; the third bearing the remarkable coat of "three arm-chairs" (fig. 6), which Favine gives as the arms of Minthia. That these pictures, therefore, were intended to represent the nine worthy ladies, principally queens of the Amazons,

according to the lists we find in Favine; but with some variations suggested by the fancy of the artist, or in compliance with the directions of his employer, there cannot be the least doubt.

A lady in full armour, with a magnificent helmet, bears on her shield (fig. 1), *gules*, three female heads proper within a bordure *or* semée of human hearts. Now Lampedo, queen of the Amazons, is said to have borne, *sable*, three queens' heads *or* within "a border of *the same*"; which would be bad heraldry, or is at any rate incorrect blazon; and the painter might have improved on his authority. But under this portrait the name of CASSANDRA has been deciphered, with a few other words, which render it probable that it was meant to represent that celebrated prophetess. Her name does not appear in any of the lists I have seen; but she would certainly be more in place in a catalogue of illustrious *women* than Minerva; though why she should be in complete armour, and bear the arms assigned to the majority of the Amazons, the artist himself could alone inform us. A lady crowned, and holding a sceptre, carries no shield; but in the spandrels in the upper angles of the frame are two escutcheons (fig. 2) displaying each ten hawks' bells (*grelots*) within a bordure of ladies' heads; and we have seen that Penthesilia, queen of the Amazons, who is said to have been slain by Achilles, bore the three queens' heads differenced by six *grelots argent*, three and three. Here the *grelots* are ten, *or* and in a field *azure*, and the heads are also increased in number, and placed in a border *gules*. At the end of the second line of the nearly obliterated description, Mr. Gordon Hills has distinctly made out the word BABYLON, but without any context by which we can judge of its reference to the portrait. It is, therefore, possible that this figure may be meant for the great Semiramis, queen of Babylon, whom the painter has included in his series; and to whom he has assigned, not the dove *argent*, according to Ferne and Favine, but arms resembling those invented for Penthesilia. The third photographed figure bears a shield (fig. 3) on which are the three queens' heads only; and we are told that Antiope bore those arms, that is, the full arms of the first part of Lampedo. The other two ladies (figs. 4, 5) have on their shields lions rampant; one bearing her lion in a field *or*, between three human hearts. I do not find in Favine's list any that I can





exactly compare with them; but one may have been intended for *Thamyris*, to whom "the romancers" have assigned leopards, and *Favine* a lion, crowned with laurel within a border of trefoils; and we may with equal confidence assert that it may be intended to represent any one else.

With the three remaining figures we shall have less difficulty. One is described in armour, but not crowned, holding three large quills or pens in the right hand, a sword erect in the left; on her shield (fig. 6) she bears, *gules*, three arm-chairs *or*. As I have before observed to you, here (reading *azure* for *gules*) is the coat given to a lady named *Minthia* in *Favine*,—a name, I suspect, either misprinted or altered by the old French romance writers from *Mirina*, an Amazon, mentioned by *Strabo* (book xii) and *Diodorus Siculus* (book iii), and included in *Zedler's* list of forty-eight of these striking beauties, wherein is no mention of *Minthia*.¹ The inscription beneath this figure appears to have been in English, as about the middle of it can distinctly be read "also he." The next figure is not in armour, but richly attired, and holds a bow and arrow in her left hand. On her shield are the identical arms given in *Favine's* list to *Hippolita*, the famous queen of the Amazons, and wife of *Theseus*, viz., *or*, a lion *azure*, armed and langued *gules*, holding in his fore-paws a small shield *gules*, charged with the three female heads so often mentioned as the arms of *Lampedo* and *Antiope* (fig. 7). This bears an inscription commencing *Here*...and at the end of the first line appears to read *Chame*... The third is a figure in armour, crowned, holding a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other, point downwards. Her shield (fig. 8) is divided per pale; the dexter half *gules*, the three ladies' heads as before; the sinister *azure*, twelve billets *or*. Should the former figure prove to be *Cassandra*, this may possibly have been intended for *Lampedo*; but with such evidence as I have given you of the caprice and excessive imagination of the authors and artists of this period, it is idle to conjecture.

¹ I also believe *Theuca* in *Favine's* list, to be intended for the warlike *Teuta*, wife of *Agron*, king of *Illyria*, who, after the decease of her husband, assumed the sovereign power B.C. 231. (*Dion Cassius*, *Polybius*.) Both names may, however, be discovered in some of the old French romancers. There is a *Minthe*, daughter of *Cocyus*, mentioned by *Ovid*, who was transformed by *Proserpine* into the herb called "mint"; but there is no probability that she is the worthy *Minthia*.

The fragment of the ninth panel presents us only with a hand holding a sword erect. The portion on which, no doubt, the shield was painted has disappeared, unfortunately, with the rest of the figure; but it is satisfactory to know that there were *nine* of these paintings at any rate, let the illustrious personages they were intended to represent be whom they may.¹

The remarkable bearings of the three female heads, of the three arm-chairs, and of the lion holding in his paws "the shield of Antiope," undoubtedly prove that the painter must have worked from some catalogue of "worthy women" very closely resembling that given by Favine. The whole purport of this paper is, I repeat, to caution antiquaries against placing any dependence on the integrity or congruity of any series of "worthies," masculine or feminine, which they may accidentally discover. It would appear as if nearly every writer who noticed the subject selected his own favourite notorieties, and invented for them such armorial insignia as his imagination dictated; transposing even the most popular coats, as in the case of Hector and Alexander the Great, without reason or compunction.

Sacred or profane history, Holy Scripture, heathen mythology, or mediæval romance, afforded an ample choice of heroes and heroines to authors of all tastes and professions; and the confusion engendered by this *embarras de richesses* has been "worse confounded" by the gross folly of that class of heralds it has been so often my painful duty to denounce as the mystifiers and degraders of a science as useful as it is ornamental,—a science, the very soul of which is truth, as its primary object is personal identification,—a science, the laws of which, by whomsoever they were laid down, are so ingeniously and nicely constructed, that, as in the game of chess, the slightest false move is instantly discernible to the eyes of an expert. Amongst the many services rendered to archæology by the labours of this and similar associations, you cannot be surprised if I look with pride and pleasure on the assistance given to the progress of a true knowledge and appreciation of that particular branch with which I have the honour to be officially connected.

¹ It is possible that enough may yet be deciphered of the inscriptions beneath these curious paintings, to enable us to make out a fresh list of nine female worthies.

Proceedings of the Association.

APRIL 13.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE REV. Thomas Anderson, M.A., of Felsham, Suffolk, was elected an associate.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

- To the Society.* Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 62. 8vo.
 „ „ Archæologia Cambrensis. April 1864. 8vo.
 „ „ Führer in dem Museum des Vereins zur Erforschung
 Rheinischer Geschichte und Alterthümer in Mainz. Mainz. 1863.
 8vo.
To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for April 1864. 8vo.
To Admiral Smyth and Dr. Lee. Addenda to the *Ædes Hartwellianæ*.
 4to. 1864. Privately printed.

Mr. T. Blashill exhibited the head of a flight or roving arrow nearly one inch and three-eighths long, of the type engraved in the *Journal* (vol. xvi, p. 266, fig. 2). It was found embedded in an oaken rafter during the restoration of Yarkhill Church, Herefordshire, the roof of which is of the fifteenth century. The Rev. T. H. Bird, to whom the blade belongs, suggests that it had been shot at a deer in the forest, and entering a tree, became overgrown by new wood. In this *Journal* (v, 3) mention is made of an arrow-head found, in 1848, embedded in St. Edmund's Oak; and there are several records of extraneous bodies being met with in the very hearts of old trees. When an oak was cut down in Wingfield Park, Cumberland, a large deer's horn which had been fixed to it with iron cramps, was discovered embedded in its centre; and in 1816, in an elm felled at Smallberry Green, was found a gold ring engraved on the inner side with the motto, "Constancy is a noble vertu." In the Leverian Museum was a "horseshoe partly enclosed by the spur of an ash-tree which grew round it"; and "part

of the thigh-bone of a large quadruped enclosed in the solid body of an oak, which was discovered in the centre of the tree upon splitting it."

Lord Boston exhibited a curious trinket appertaining to the Order of the Annunciation: "the knot of Savoy," wrought of fine gold, riveted to a field of red Sardinian carnelian, set in a gold frame like a seal-mount of about a century and a half old. It was probably worn by a knight of the order as a badge of office; in the same way as the chamberlain wore the golden key, and the herald his little escutcheon.

In illustration of the device on this trinket, Mr. H. Syer Cuming produced a jetton of the fifteenth century, displaying two knots accompanied by a rose flanked by the letter M (the emblem and initial of the Virgin Mary); the letter S, for Savoy, being repeated four times on the margin of the little piece. Mr. Cuming also called attention to some copper and silver coins issued by Sardinian sovereigns for Piedmont, on which "the knot of Savoy," or the "Annunciation," as it is likewise called, appears singly and wrought on the collar of the order; and in every instance of the same peculiar convolutions as the one on Lord Boston's trinket. The military order of the knights of the Annunciation was founded in the year 1355 by Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy, in memory of Amadeus I and his noble defence of Rhodes when that island was attacked by the Turks. The collar of the order is decorated with golden knots and the letters F. E. R. T., the initials of the words *fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*; and to it hangs a plaque with the scene of the Annunciation. The reigning prince is always the sovereign of the order.

Mr. Pidgeon exhibited a singular mask of hard red terra-cotta covered with a dull, dark green glaze composed of protoxide of lead and protoxide of copper, which had formed the lip of a vessel found at Silchester, Hants, the property of His Grace the Duke of Wellington. The visage is long and somewhat narrow, the widely separated nose and chin sharp, and the eyes formed by concentric circles. In character it may be compared with the head of the equestrian knight of the *lavatorium*, of the twelfth century, found at Winwick, near Warrington, in 1840, and described in this *Journal* (xiv, 91), of which Mr. H. Syer Cuming now produced a full-sized coloured drawing.

Mr. Blashill exhibited the neck and spout of a *lavatorium*, representing a human bust, closely resembling in style of art and design the example from Silchester. The eyes are annular; the sharp, up-turned nose displays long nostrils; the projecting chin is pointed, the ears large and round, and the right hand rests on the cheek. The paste of which it is composed is of a greyish hue, the glaze is a bright green. This bust is in all probability a portion of an equestrian figure of the twelfth or thirteenth century, and was lately exhumed in the Steelyard.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming also exhibited a portion of an earthen vessel of

a light drab colour, covered with a green glaze, and bearing a full-faced bust in bas-relief. The face is a long oval, with annular eyes and prominent pupils; the hair, if it be intended for hair, consisting of twenty-four short rays. The front is covered with a knobbed pectoral. This rare fragment, which is of unusual thinness, may be assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century, and was recovered from the Thames in 1850.

An example of the boggle, or image-mug, of superior fabric, assigned to the commencement of the fourteenth century, is engraved in this *Journal*, iii, 63.

Mr. Luxmoore exhibited a lady's watch one inch and three-sixteenths diameter, and rather under three-quarters in thickness. The gold case is set with two hundred turquoises arranged in eight concentric circles with a single one in the middle; bringing to mind the jeweled cup of Queen Elizabeth engraved in the *Journal* (v, 143). In the centre of the gold face is a Tudor rose of crimson and green translucent enamel; and on the margin are crimson and blue leaves and fruit of the same material. The hours, in Roman numerals, are of black enamel; no minutes are indicated; and the barbed hand is of steel. The plates, wheels, and pillars, are of brass; the axes and balance-wheel of steel, the latter protected by a foliated gilt cock. A further point to observe is, that it has a cat-gut in place of the more modern chain. On it is engraved the maker's name, J. H. Ester. This costly trinket is of the close of Elizabeth's reign, and worthy of having been her property. In the Bernal Collection was a pear-shaped watch, of parcel-gilt silver, made by J. H. Ester. Lady Sophia Des Vœux has a jeweled and enameled watch also by J. H. Ester; and Lady Fellows has a gold tulip-shaped one of about the same age as the foregoing, inscribed Henry Ester. In the Ashmolean Museum is a circular gold watch set with turquoises, having a gold chain formed of locketts, with braids of hair and other mementoes, which is said to have belonged to Queen Elizabeth.

The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne exhibited the signet-ring of the celebrated Cæsar Borgia. This remarkable object of Italian art is of gold slightly enameled, bearing the date of 1503. Round the inside of the ring is the motto, "Fays ceque doys avien que pourra." A box drops into the front having on it BORGIA in letters reversed, and round it the words "Cor unum, una via." At the back of this is a slide, within which, it is related, he carried the poison he was in the habit of dropping into the wine of his unsuspecting guests. The signet is contained in an elegantly chased silver box surmounted by a jewel. This jewel has been obtained from the collection of the late Bishop of Ely.

Mr. Clarence Hopper exhibited two copperplate engravings entitled "An Eye Catechisme," pasted on oak panels measuring sixteen inches

and a half in height by eleven inches and a quarter wide. The first is inscribed at the top thus: "Dedicated to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. By his most dutifull servant James Dymock, a Clergy-man." The second is inscribed, "Published with Allowance For Mr. Turner at the Lamb in Holbourn 1688, by J. Dymock a Clergy-man." Both prints are divided into twenty-five compartments. The first gives,—“The Commandements,” “Our Lord’s Prayer,” “Theological Virtues” (Faith, Hope, Charity), and “Cardinal Virtues” (Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance). The second plate displays—“The Sign of the Cross,” “The Trinity,” “The Creation and Fall of Angels,” “The Creation of Man and other material Things,” “The Fall of Man,” “The Incarnation of our Lord declared by an Angel,” “The Birth of our Savior,” “The Death of our Savior,” “Christ’s glorious Resurrection,” “Christ’s triumphant Ascension,” “The Holy Ghost descending upon the Apostles in fiery Tongues,” “The Catholick Church triumphant, militant, suffering,” “The Seven Sacraments,” “Baptism,” “Confirmation,” “Euchrist,” “Penance,” “Extream-Uncion,” “Holy-Order,” and “Matrimony.” The lowest line of pictures are of—“Death,” “Resurrection,” “The general Judgment,” “Hell,” and “Heaven.” Some of the subjects are curiously illustrated: thus the fifth commandment shows us Abraham with his son Isaac on the altar; the sixth, Joseph and his mistress; and the ninth, David and Bethsheba. In the sixth illustration, of the Lord’s Prayer, the Devil is placing the nozzle of a pair of bellows to the ear of a gentleman. The Prince of Wales to whom this “Eye Catechisme” is dedicated was the old Pretender; and “Mr. Turner” was possibly a relative of Anthony Turner the Jesuit, who was executed at Tyburn in 1679. Mr. Hopper states that these rare engravings came from an old Romish chapel at Reading.

Mr. Thomas Taylor transmitted through Mr. George Wentworth a transcript of a deed of the last Earl of Warren, exhibited at the late Congress when assembled in the Town Hall of Wakefield. It is a charter confirming to John Gayregrave and his heirs a “toft” and its appurtenances in the town of “Wakefend” (Wakefield), which had been previously taken by Gayregrave from John of Doncaster, the seneschal, in reward for services rendered to the Earl of Warren. The witnesses to the deed are, Reynald the Fleming, John of Doncaster, Henry de la Warde, John de Amyas, Thomas Alein, William de Lokwode, and others. It bears date, Sandal, Sept. 24, seventh year of the reign of Edward son of King Edward. The seal, which is unfortunately broken, but of which an excellent drawing by Miss Fennell was exhibited, is attached by a silken tape. On the obverse the earl is represented as armed and mounted on a horse richly trapped and covered with the arms of Warren (checky *or* and *azure*). On the reverse are the same arms suspended in a forest. Fragments of a legend or inscrip-

tion on both sides of the seal still remain. In Manning and Bray's *Surrey* there is an engraving of a seal of the same earl, but of the date 3rd Edward III, which is stated to be in the possession of Mr. Astle (vol. i, p. 275). Also in Vincent on Brooke (p. 524) a seal of the date 11th Edward III is mentioned wherein the same earl styles himself "knight."

Mr. G. Wentworth also transmitted a deed of William the second Earl of Warren and Isabel his Countess, which has been printed by the Rev. Joseph Hunter in his paper on the Pontefract Chartulary.

Mr. C. Faulkener, F.S.A., exhibited a dagger ploughed up in a field at Doddington, Oxon. It has a tapering, single-edged blade, thick at the back, like some of the Anglo-Saxon knives; and the small guard and pommel are of a round form, the latter being somewhat concave, having been set with stone, glass, or ivory, in the manner of the pommel of the Highland *bidag*. The tang is broad, with three perforations through it filled with tubes which have either been set, or received stout cylindrical pegs of ivory, by which the faces of the grip were secured, and which was further strengthened on the two opposite sides by strips of copper decorated with diagonal channels. This weapon is in all probability as early as the time of Edward I, from whose reign to that of James I the dagger was almost constantly worn by the side as the companion of the sword. Mr. Faulkener's example may be compared with a dagger, *temp.* Edward III, in Skelton's *Meyrick* (ex, I), but is certainly of older date.

Mr. Irvine exhibited a curious comb carved out of bone, found with an iron spear-head at Ham Hill, Somersetshire. Nearly similar combs have been met with in Scotland; but this is stated to be only the second instance of such an example being brought to light in England. It will be noticed, with other similar antiquities, in a future *Journal*.

The Rev. George Cardew sent a brief notice of the discovery of human skeletons and various ancient remains at Helmingham and its neighbourhood, the particulars of which will be given in a future *Journal*, together with the *Proceedings* of the Congress held at Ipswich, when the spot was visited by the Association, and the skeletons observed *in situ*.

The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne gave a slight notice of excavations made in his parish at Holdenby, near Northampton; the discovery of numerous skeletons, quantities of Roman pottery, fibulae, etc., which will form the subject of a paper for a future meeting.

APRIL 27.

LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., PRESIDENT.

Robert Ferguson, Esq., of Morton, near Carlisle,
 George Leslie, Esq., Birchfield Lodge, Edge Lane, near Liverpool,
 John Brighouse, Esq., 34, George Street, Hanover Square,
 were elected associates.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

- To the Author.* A Chronological Numismatic Compendium of the
 Twelve Cæsars, arranged by S. C. Bagg, Esq., folio, 1864.
 „ „ Framlingham Castle. A paper read before the Suffolk
 Institute of Archæology, by R. M. Phipson, 8vo, 1859.
 „ „ Account of further Explorations at Locmariaquer, in
 Brittany, by S. Ferguson, Q.C. Dublin, 1863. 8vo.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a fine example of Miserecorde or Misericordia, discovered in the Steelyard. It is of the earliest type, and may be assigned to the fourteenth century. The iron pommel is of the exact form of that of a sword engraved in the *Journal* (i, 336), which has been attributed to the thirteenth century; the guard, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches across, is slightly deflected and knobbed at the ends; the blade is quadrangular, a section forming a rhomb; the weapon is fourteen inches in length, and in a good state of preservation. The Misericorde was known as far back as the reign of Edward II. Sir S. Meyrick says: "The best reason that has been assigned for the name of Misericorde has been the peculiar use of the weapon, which is to oblige a vanquished antagonist to cry for *mercy*, or receive his death wound. It was worn with the sword in *jousts-à-outrance*, and sometimes in other mortal encounters, instead of the dagger, being better calculated to pierce through the apertures of the armour than that weapon, its distinguishing characteristic being a long narrow blade." The earliest Misericorde in the Meyrick Collection is of the time of Henry VI, the blade being three-sided; the same form of blade is also met with in the reign of Henry VIII. In the sixteenth century the blade of the Misericorde was not unfrequently channeled and perforated to hold poison; two examples so made, of the age of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, are at Goodrich Court. In a collection of armour exhibited at the Gothic Hall, Pall Mall, was an old English Misericorde graven with the date 1605 and the following lines:

"Ask me not for schame,
 Drink lis and by ane."

Mr. Gunston also exhibited a basket-hilted stiletto of the time of Henry VIII, recovered from the mud of the Fleet River in 1863. The

pommel is a thick disc of iron with a square knob at the top, such as gave name to the *Dague à roëlle*. The two-edged blade is strengthened on either side by a sharp prominent rib passing down the centre, a small portion of which is cut away next the guard on the blade to permit the thumb to rest against it, the weapon being designed for the left hand as an accompaniment of the sword.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a small oblong square piece of copper, apparently impressed with a bookbinder's stamp of about the year 1565. The device, a helmeted profile bust to the right, within a circle, surrounded by foliage: found in Moorfields. Also, a brass admission ticket to the Physic Gardens, Amsterdam, designed for the members of the Guild of Surgeons of that place, and granted to P. Van Suuren, whose name, together with a skull and cross-bones, is engraved on one side of the piece. On the other side is a vase of flowers dividing the date 1684 and the legend HORTVS MEDICVS. Tickets with this device and legend sometimes bear the arms of Amsterdam on the opposite side. It seems to have been the practice to cast the Hortus Medicus tickets very thick, so that they could be sawed in half, leaving a plain field in which the name of the recipient could be inscribed, as in the present example, which has been mistaken for a ticket for the Physic Gardens, Chelsea.

Mr. Gunston produced also a Dutch tobacco-box of the time of William III, of brass, seven inches long by one seven-eighths wide. Round the sides are engraved a large-horned buck followed by three does. On the top and bottom are engraved passages of Scripture in the Ideographic manner: that on the lid is from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, v, 16, 17, and that on the base from Psalm li, 11, 12 (erroneously put 12, 13). Ideographic legends date from the days of the Pharaohs, but it is hardly known that this mode of expressing language was occasionally resorted to in a solemn spirit as late as the eighteenth century. Mr. Cuming has *A Curious Hieroglyphick Bible; or Select Passages in the Old and New Testaments*, 12mo; London: printed for J. Hodgson, in George's-court, St. John's-lane, Clerkenwell, 1786.

Mr. Taylor transmitted a little badge of St. Michael—a cast in brass, with a loop at the back for attachment to the hat either of a Knight of the Order, or else of a Pilgrim to the Archangels' Church in Normandy. The figure is represented with expanded wings, completely clothed in armour, the breast-plate globose and the tassels of five lames falling half-way down the thighs. The saint holds a round buckler charged with a cross in his left hand, and raises his sword with his right to strike a four-footed winged dragon. He places his left foot on the creature's neck, and on a bank to the right are three flowers springing from one stem, emblematic of the Holy Trinity.

This relic is of about the end of the fifteenth century, and was exhumed at Moulton Park, near Northampton, a hunting-seat of the English kings.

Mr. Baskcomb exhibited a portion of a scarf or neck-cloth stated to have been worn by Charles I on the morning of January 30th, 1648. It is of fine cambric, measuring seven and a-quarter inches from hem to hem, and beautifully worked in variously-arranged squares of pattern exactly agreeing in style with the embroidery on the shirt now placed by Mr. Henry Blackburn in the South Kensington Museum, which is said to be one of the two worn by the King on the day of his death, and long preserved by the descendants of the Lord-keeper Coventry.¹ The remaining part of the scarf produced by Mr. Baskcomb is in the possession of a Mrs. Hawkins, in whose family it has been an heir-loom from time out of mind.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a heart-shaped mortuary locket of King Charles I, of silver, one side being engraved with a cherub's head, the other with a flambant heart wounded with an arrow, a drop of blood flowing from the wound; and flanked by palm-branches, the emblems of martyrdom. Above are the initials of the original owner, A. G., conjectured to have been the Rev. Arthur Gifford, rector of Biddeford, Devonshire, who suffered severely in the royal cause, and whose brother, Colonel John Gifford, was a distinguished soldier in the king's army. Around the edge of the trinket is inscribed "My hert doe rest within thy brest." In the *Gent. Mag.* for Feb. 1794 (p. 122), description is given of a cavalier's locket inscribed "In this brest my hert doth rest." These lockets differ in some respects from those already mentioned in the *Journal* (xi, 234; xvi, 294); but, like them, were doubtlessly employed as receptacles for relics of the monarch,—a portion of his hair, or a bit of cloth or chip tinged with his blood,—for that such things were prized even as amulets, is shown by Mr. Pettigrew in his *Medical Superstitions* (p. 150). Mr. Cuming also exhibited an impression of a mortuary signet of Charles I, of rather rude execution, bearing a profile of the monarch to the left, and the words ROYAL MARTYR. Mr. Forman has a small brass button with a profile of the king circumscribed ROYAL M.

The Rev. T. A. Holland, of Poynings, Hurst Pierpoint, Sussex, transmitted a signet ring, bearing the arms and cipher of Henrietta Maria, one of two examples formerly in the possession of the late David Stuart Erskine, Earl of Buchan, Mr. Holland's grand-uncle. The seal is precisely similar in design, but of rather larger size than that given in the *Journal*, xvii, 224, and is engraved on a slab of carnelian set in gold, not, however, the original mounting, which was

¹ That the king wore two shirts at the day of his death is manifest by Herbert's *Memoirs*. See *Journal*, xi, 230.

of a much more delicate description. The Earl of Buchan always considered his ring as appertaining to Mary Stuart.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming called attention to the fact that we were now acquainted with at least four distinct signet-rings displaying the arms and cipher of Henrietta Maria. First, the beautiful trinket belonging to Miss Hartshorne, in which the device is cut on an oval sapphire, and of which an account appeared in the *Journal* (xviii, 277); secondly, a group of three, perhaps four, lozenge-shaped signets, which may be distinguished as the Buchan-Wiseman ring, the Buchan-Holland ring, the Fielder ring, the stone of which is held in the bezel by twelve clamps, and an anonymous ring, in which the signet is fixed in the bezel by four clamps, without, indeed, this be one of the Holyrood ectypes of glass brought to our notice by Mr. Vere Irving in 1855 (see *Journal*, xi, 76). It has been suggested that the oval signet was worn by the Queen during the King's lifetime, and that the lozenge form indicates her widowhood. But grant that the two forms of jewels mark two periods of the Queen's career, the question still remains, How comes there to be so many similar ones of the lozenge type? *is there but one original among them, and all the rest ectypes of the Queen's own trinket*, or were several of the same kind made to serve some special purpose? At present the question is in obscurity. In relation to the duplication of rings connected with the wife of our first Charles, it may be well in this place to quote a passage from Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England* (viii, 101): "Whilst in Holland she had a great many rings, locketts, and bracelet-clasps made with her cipher; the letters H. M. R.—*Henrietta Maria Regina*—in very delicate flagree of gold, curiously contained in a monogram, laid on a ground of crimson velvet, covered with thick crystal, cut like a table diamond, and set in gold. These were called "*the Queen's pledges*," and were presented by her to any person who had lent her money, or rendered her any particular service, with an understanding that if presented to her Majesty at any future time when fortune smiled on the royal cause, it would command either repayment of the money advanced, or some favour from the Queen that would amount to an ample equivalent. Many of these interesting testimonials are in existence, and, in families where the tradition has been forgotten, have been regarded as amulets which were to secure good fortune to the wearer. One of these royal pledges, a small bracelet-clasp, has been an heirloom in the family of the author of this life of Henrietta, and there is a ring, with the same device, in the possession of Philip Darrell, Esq., of Cales-hill, in Kent, which was presented to his immediate ancestor by that Queen."

Mr. Irvine exhibited a three-quarter full-sized portrait of Prince Rupert, painted in oil upon paper spread on panel, measuring seven-

teen inches high by eleven and a-half wide. The luxuriant hair falls over the forehead and about the shoulders; round the neck is twisted a white cravat, and the slashed sleeve displays the white shirt beneath. Mr. Irvine purchased this picture of an inmate of Lane's Almshouse, Ludlow, Salop, May 31st, 1859, but could learn nothing of its history. It may have been given by the Prince to one of his numerous friends during his sojourn at Ludlow Castle as Lord President of Wales, which office he filled from the year 1679 to his death in 1682. At Hampton Court is a portrait of Prince Rupert when a boy, by Mytens, and another young likeness of him in armour holding a baton may be seen in Pinkerton's *Medals of England* (Pl. xiv, 9). Earl Craven has a full-length picture of the Prince by Vandyck, and portraits of him were also executed by Gerard Honthorst, Dobson, and Lely, some of which have been engraved by De Jode, C. Knight, Hollar, &c. One of the rarest of engraved portraits of the Prince is that in a military habit executed by himself in mezzotinto, and signed *Rup. p. fec.*, 1656.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills read some observations relating to Chichester Cathedral. (See pp. 155-160 *ante*.)

The remainder of the evening was occupied in the reading of a paper "On the Hut-Circles of the Eastern Side of Dartmoor," by G. Wareing Ormerod, Esq., M.A. (See pp. 299-308 *ante*.)

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

MAY 11TH.

NATHANIEL GOULD, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P. in the Chair.

For an account of the proceedings see pp. 161-188 *ante*.

MAY 25.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Steuart Macnaghten, Esq., of Bittern Manor, near Southampton,
J. Kirke, Esq., of the Middle Temple, and 32, Harley-street,
Rear-Admiral Sir G. N. Broke Middleton, Bart. C.B., of Broke Hall,
were elected associates.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:

To the Author. The Art-Workman's Position. By A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq. 1864. 8vo.

To the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 63. April, 1864. 8vo.

„ Journal of the Canadian Institute. No. 50. March, 1864. 8vo.

- To the Society.* Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and S.E. of Ireland Archaeological Society. No. 43. January 1864. 8vo.
- To the Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine for May, 1864. 8vo.
- To the Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A.* Plaster Casts of Saxon Coins and Sceattæ found at Southampton, and described in the *Journal* of the Association for March, 1864.

The Chairman communicated to the meeting that the Council having received information that a portion of the Castle Wall at Southampton was threatened with demolition by a builder who had purchased the property, a letter was directed to be addressed to the Town Council expressive of their regret at such an intention, and hoping that means would be taken to avert the same, it being a historical memorial of great interest, and viewed by the Association at their Congress in 1855. A letter in reply from the Town Clerk had been received, stating that no funds were possessed by the Corporation which could legally be devoted to the purchase of the wall, but that the communication should be laid before the Town Council at their next meeting.¹

Mr. Edward T. Stevens, of Salisbury, made the following interesting communication to the Treasurer on a recent discovery of flint implements in the drift:—

“It is with great pleasure that I am able to announce the discovery, within the last week, of no less than five very well defined and characteristic flint implements, by Mr. James Brown of this city. These specimens were all derived from the drift which occurs at Hill Head near Fareham,—a deposit extending for miles along that part of the coast. The implement-bearing character of these beds was first determined by Mr. Brown in May, 1863, and between that time and the November following he placed four admirably finished implements from this locality in our Museum. The series was increased by subsequent discoveries to nine, and now five more have been added; so that in less than twelve months Mr. Brown has himself collected fourteen flint implements from this one deposit. Mr. Evans, F.S.A., found one on the same line of coast in March last; and Keeping, the well-known geologist, collected three (?) at a somewhat later date. Yet it must be borne in mind that it was in consequence of the information derived from Mr. Brown that Mr. Evans, Mr. Prestwich, and, within the last week, Sir Charles Lyell, have visited this Hampshire drift, and have pronounced upon the importance and the genuine character of the discovery.

“Mr Brown's fine series contains examples of nearly all the known types. There is an absence of mere flakes; but the implements are more carefully finished, they bear greater evidence of design and of

¹ The Association will rejoice to learn that the property has been purchased by the Corporation, and this monument of antiquity thereby preserved.

human forethought than is usually the case. It is interesting to note that the specimens hitherto found on the Brown Down side of Hill Head are of a more rude character; and should future discoveries establish this as a fact, it may show that an equal expertness in the manufacture of such implements was not shared by the entire population at this remote period, but was possessed in a greater or less degree by an individual or a tribe here and there. The four specimens found by Dr. Blackmore at Fisherton Anger confirm this view; for they all possess a striking family likeness, not so much as to form or type, but as to comparative skill in the manufacture.

“Among the implements so recently found by Mr. Brown are three peculiarly interesting specimens. One is chipped down to a working point, and was evidently intended for use in the hand unmounted. This rude hand-hatchet was probably used adze-wise, and must have been well adapted for such a purpose as *chumping* out the previously charred interior of a tree, with the view of making it into that form of canoe which the Americans call a ‘dug-out.’ The maker (probably also himself the user) of this implement studied his comfort, and before expending labour upon it, he selected a flint with a *well-rounded* end, which has been preserved, and which served as the handle. Examples occur of *rounded* eocene pebbles having been thus turned to account by the drift workmen. Mr. Brown’s specimen, however, is apparently made from a flint obtained direct from the chalk. How singular it is that this hint given by Nature was not taken by the man of the drift age! Although he selected now and then a rounded pebble, he does not appear in any case to have himself *rubbed* down the inequalities of the flints he used,—an art carried to great perfection, at a later period, by the Celtic and other races. Such an implement as this from Hill Head must be peculiarly convincing to those who, from not having directed their attention to this early branch of archæology, are at all inclined to be sceptical about the human workmanship of these objects. Not only is there evidence of design in the selection of a suitable shape in the raw material, but each successive chip removed by the fabricator brought the flint into a form which, whilst it tapers off to a good working point, still preserves the central ridge so requisite for strength. Another specimen is made of coarse greensand chert, a material (so far as I am aware) not hitherto noticed as employed in the manufacture of these drift implements. It is probably unique. A third implement among those so recently found is interesting as regards its form; but it would be difficult fully to convey my meaning in words,—suffice it that one end is peculiarly thinned out, in which respect it greatly resembles a specimen obtained by Dr. Blackmore from Porte Marcadé. This may have reference to some mode of mounting the implement; and should further discoveries of this type be made, it may add a fourth

group to the classification proposed by Mr. Evans in his most valuable paper recently published by the Society of Antiquaries.

"The Hill Head series possesses one great advantage—all the specimens have been found by Mr. Brown himself, or by his friends Mr. and Mrs. Bell. As there has been no purchasing, so there is no chance of a single forgery among them. Mr. Brown, with most praiseworthy liberality, has placed the entire series in our Museum.

"The recent discoveries at Hill Head and at Fisherton Anger have brought many of our leading geologists and archaeologists to Salisbury, and among them Sir Charles Lyell, who, during the three days of his stay, made a careful examination of the drift-deposit at Fisherton; and upon which, I trust, he will give the public the benefit of his valuable opinion. He also spent some hours at the Museum; and I state it upon his authority, that the Fisherton drift-beds have furnished, up to the present time, more species of mammalia than *any other single locality*; whilst two animals (a pouched marmot and a lemming) have not been found elsewhere. The presence of these two, moreover, affords evidence of the arctic character of the climate which prevailed during the deposition of these beds.—Salisbury, April 20, 1864."

Mr. S. Wood exhibited a Roman lamp of about the commencement of the Christian æra, formed of reddish brown terra-cotta, and brought from Alexandria by Lieut. Waghorn. The body is four inches and a half diameter, and bears in relief a lion sejant, raising its right paw, and placed on a cable-band, which gives the device all the aspect of a heraldic crest. The edge of the perforated handle is reeded, and the *niche* slightly channeled at its junction with the margin of the lamp. On the base is stamped the name of the potter, C. IVNDRA . F (*i.e.*, *fecit*).

A second exhibition by Mr. Wood was a quart bellarmine of about the year 1600. It is decorated with the usual bearded mask, and on the body are the arms of Amsterdam. It was recovered from the Thames at All Hallows Wharf, April, 1864.

Mr. Wood also exhibited a *kasher-chotam*, or seal of purity, to suspend to meat as a voucher that the animal had been killed according to the Jewish custom. It is, like all such signets, of lead, and has lost the tin loop by which it was attached to the carcass. Though old, this seal cannot be considered ancient; and was exhumed about ten years since at Peckham, Surrey.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming produced perfect examples of the *kasher-chotam*, and stated their mode of manufacture to be thus: a little rod of lead, slightly swelling at the extremities, is passed through the perforated ends of a broad fold of tin; and each bulb being placed in a die, is stamped with a brief legend in Hebrew characters; the more common formulæ on the one disc being, "Sanction of the ecclesiastical board of the holy congregation," and "Pure for the Zebi," or hart, *i.e.*, Israel.

The letters on the discs at the opposite extremity of the bars are marks changeable at intervals, so as to prevent imitations, like the stamps of the Goldsmiths' Company and initials on the Bank of England notes. The knowledge respecting these "seals of purity" is so limited that it is well to call attention to them; for when the little discs are broken from the rods, and properly "doctored", they are passed off as ancient Hebrew coins, for which goodly sums have been obtained.

Lord Boston transmitted a trinket of similar seal-like aspect to that described at p. 326 *ante*; but the device on the bezel, though a *knot*, is very dissimilar to the *lacci d'amore* of the Order of the Annunciation of Savoy. The present trinket is entirely of gold; the cords convoluted so as to produce a figure of ∞ laid lengthways, with a lozenge in the centre, having a loop at each angle, and therefore bearing a close resemblance to the links of the collar of the Order of the Bath. The knot upon this trinket, and the links of the collar of the last named order, are composed of two cords. The links of the collars of the orders of the Garter and St. Patrick likewise consist of the same number; but they produce four loops with the four ends differently arranged. Another double-corded knot is that of Wake, which is identical with the "true lover's knot" upon the Anne Boleyn clock, as may be seen in this *Journal* (iv, 390). The Bourchier and Lacy knots are also of complex character. The best known simple corded knots are the *lacci d'amore* of Savoy already noticed; that of the extinct order of "The Knot of Naples," consisting of a figure of 8 with the ends spreading from the middle on either side; and the Stafford knot, which is reniformed, the ends rising at each side of the convex upper part, as shown in the *Journal* (iv, 389). Lord Boston's trinket is probably a badge of office worn by a brother of some order of knighthood about the commencement of the eighteenth century.

Mr. Irvine exhibited three interesting examples of bookbinding:—1st, "A Paradise of Prayers, containing the Purity of Devotion and Meditation. Gathered out of all the Spirituall Exercises of Lewes of Granado: and Englished for the Benefit of the Christian Reader. *Ascendat oratio, descendat gratia*. At London. Printed by J. R. for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Churchyard, neere unto Saint Austines Gate. 1605." 16mo. English binding of the period, in brown calf; the sides and back richly tooled all over with bold floral scrolls in gold. The edges of the book are gauffre with a guilloche. The two clasps which closed the covers are lost. 2nd, one side of a small 8vo. book-cover; French binding of the seventeenth century, in bright green vellum; the margin delicately tooled in gold with a peculiar pattern, one of the devices resembling St. Catherine's Wheel. 3rd, small pocket-case for instruments, etc., covered with red morocco inlaid with black and fawn-coloured leather enriched with gold

tooling, and secured by a gold lock. Date, early part of the eighteenth century.

Bookbinding with inlays of coloured leather occurs as far back as the middle of the sixteenth century, and was used in England as late as the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Mr. Cuming has a very small almanack for the year 1791, both the binding and the case in which the book is contained being covered with red, blue, green, and fawn-coloured leather with gold tooling much resembling Mr. Irvine's example. It is curious to observe that some of the pocket-books made by the natives on the shores of the Gambia are of red leather inlaid with green, and decorated with blind tooling.

Mr. C. H. Luxmoore, F.S.A., exhibited a crescent-shaped axe with broad dorsal beak of a halbert, both blades being decorated with bold perforations. It is of the time of Elizabeth, and was found in a field at Barnet.

Another exhibition by Mr. Luxmoore was a small pouch of strong leather mounted in brass, and made to hold a flint and amadou, a steel being riveted to its lower edge. It is accompanied by a clasp-knife employed for slicing the areca-nut. The pouch is probably of Afghan fabric, but similar receptacles are used in various parts of India. Mr. Cuming has a small Chinese pouch of the same type, the leathern flap of which is decorated in its front with rosette boss, and the steel stamped with the maker's name.

Mr. Gunston announced that on May 1 there were discovered, in digging a trench at the corner of Grove-street, Southwark, two skeletons; and between them the remains of an earthen *olla* which had been filled with small brass coins, five hundred and fifty-four of which he had secured; which consisted entirely of rude imitations of the imperial money of the second half of the third century, some bearing the busts and names of Victorinus, Tetricus I and II, and Claudius Gothicus. It is difficult to decide who are intended by the profiles on many of these pieces, the legends being as uncouth as the lineaments. Two, of very barbaric fabric, with heads encircled by spiked crowns, have on the reverse square devices closely resembling those seen on the early Saxon sceattas. This "find" of coins forms a strong contrast to that made in 1862 at Bryndedwydd, near Corwen, Merionethshire, when the one thousand seven hundred pieces appear to have *all* been perfectly genuine, and of which examples were laid before the Association by Mr. Wood at a former meeting.

The Rev. George Cardew, M.A., attended the meeting, and gave a description of discoveries he had recently made at Helmingham in Suffolk, mentioned at a previous meeting. He detailed with great precision the particulars attending his various examinations, and indicated the localities in which the several antiquities were discovered. The

various mediæval, Roman, and Romano-British antiquities were exhibited and examined, and drawings together with photographs of many of the skeletons laid before the meeting.

Thanks were voted to Mr. Cardew for his excellent discourse, and for his obliging attention in bringing up the antiquities for examination at the meeting.

JUNE 8.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:—

- To the Author.* Annals of Lesmahagow. By J. G. Greenshields. Edinburgh, 1864. 4to.
- To the Society.* Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 64. 8vo.
- „ „ Journal of the Canadian Institute. No. 51. 8vo.
- „ „ Lecture delivered before the Architectural Museum, by Cardinal Wiseman on the Prospects for Good Architecture in London. London, 1864. 8vo.
- „ „ Memoir of A. H. Rhind, of Sibster, by John Stuart, Sec. of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Edinburgh, 1864. 4to.
- To the Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1864. 8vo.
- To E. Roberts, Esq.* Catalogue of the Colchester Museum. Colchester. 8vo.

Lord Boston exhibited some Stuart memorials which had long been in the possession of his Lordship's family. They consisted of:—

1. The great seal of King Charles I, in yellow wax. *Obv.*, enthroned effigy of the monarch, on the right hand a lion holding a banner charged with the cross of St. George, on the left the unicorn with the banner of St. Andrew above the royal arms. *Legend*, CAROLVS DEI GRATIA . ANGLIÆ . SCOTIÆ . FRANCIÆ . ET . HIBERNIÆ . REX . FIDEI . DEFENSOR. *Rev.*, Equestrian effigy in armour to the left, beneath a greyhound courant; in the distance a view of London. *Legend* the same as on *obv.* Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that this great seal was of importance, not only as illustrative of history and art, but also of topography, displaying a picture in relief of London in the first half of the seventeenth century. Conspicuous is the Old London Bridge, with its southern gate with traitors' heads, and its long line of dwellings leading to the northern side of the Thames, across which is seen various edifices with St. Paul's Cathedral towering in the midst. Mr. Cuming produced a fine silver medal commemorating King Charles's return from Scotland after his coronation in June, 1633, the *rev.* of which

shows a view of London like that upon the seal, but with the addition of a portion of Bankside, Southwark. This piece is badly engraved in *The 384 Medals of England*, xvi, 2.

2. A signet ring, the gold hoop decorated with narrow lines of translucent green enamel, and set with a square crystal faceted at the edges, and the table beautifully sculptured with a minute profile bust of Henrietta Maria. There are good grounds for believing that this trinket was a present from the Queen to Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, who conducted her Royal Highness to England, when she became the bride of Charles, and fell a martyr in the cause of his sovereign in 1648. For comparison, Mr. Cuming placed with this ring one of the marriage medals of Charles and Henrietta, and a silver jetton engraved by Simon de Pass, on both of which the profiles of the Queen closely resemble the minute portrait in Lord Boston's signet.

3. Letter addressed to the Vice-chancellor of Cambridge by the Chancellor, James Duke of Monmouth:—

“MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN,

“His Maj^{ty} having taken notice of y^e liberty w^{ch} severall persons in holy orders have taken to weare their haire and perriwigs of an unusuall and unbecoming lenght, hath commanded me to lett you know that he is much displeased therewith: and strictly injoyns y^t all such persons as professe or intend y^e study of divinity, doe for y^e future weare their haire in a manner more suitable to y^e gravity and y^e sobriety of their profession, and y^t distinction which was allways maintained between y^e habitts of men devoted to y^e ministry and other persons.

“And whereas his Majesty is inform'd y^t y^e practice of reading sermons is generally taken up by y^e preachers before y^e University, and therefore sometimes continued even before himself, his Maj^{ty} hath commanded mee to signify to you his pleasure y^t y^e said practice which tooke beginning with y^e disorders of y^e late times, be wholly layd aside, and y^t y^e foresaid preachers deliver their sermons both in Latine and English by memory and without booke, as beeing a way of preaching which his Maj^{ty} judges most agreeable to y^e use of all forraign churches, to y^e custom of y^e University heretofore, and y^e nature and intendment of that holy exercise: And y^t his Maj^{ty}'s command in y^e premises may be duly regarded and observed his further pleasure is y^t y^e names of all such ecclesiastick persons as shall weare their haire as heretofore in an unfitting imitation of y^e fasshion of laymen, or y^e shall continue y^e present supine and slothfull way of preaching, be from time to time signified to me by y^e Vice-chancellor for y^e time being, upon paine of his Maj^{ty}'s displeasure.

“Haveing in obedience to his Majesty's will signified thus much

unto you, I shall nott doubt of y^e ready compliyanee, and y^e rather because his Maj^{ty} intends to send y^e same injunctions very speedily to y^e University of Oxford, whom I am assured you will equall, as in all other excellences, soe in obedience to y^e King, especially when his Maj^{ty}'s commands tend soe much to y^e honour and esteame of y^e renowned University whose welfare is so heartily desired, and shall allwayes be indeavoured by

“Mr. Vice-chancellor and Gentlemen,

“Your loveing Freind and Chancellor,

“Newmarkett, Oct. y^e 8th, 1674.

“MONMOUTH.”

As the Duke of Monmouth succeeded the Duke of Buckingham as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in 1674, the above letter may be regarded as one of his first acts in connection with his new dignity.

Lord Boston also exhibited an oval miniature of James Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick, son of James II, by Arabella Churchill, sister of the Duke of Marlborough. There is a striking resemblance in feature and expression to the younger portraits of his father. He is rather fair-complexioned, the flowing wig of lightish brown hue, the end of the point-lace cravat hangs over the gilt-edged steel armour and partly obscures the blue scarf which crosses the breast from the left shoulder. This beautiful miniature is painted in water-colours on the back of a playing-card (the seven of Diamonds), and its rarity and value may be estimated by the fact that no portrait of the Duke of Berwick occurred in the Strawberry-hill and Bernal Collections, the Manchester Exhibition of 1857, nor the Loan Collection at South Kensington in 1862. Drevet, in 1693, engraved a portrait of the Duke after a painting by Gennari; and prints of him in armour have been produced by Champmartin and Harding, the latter in Coxe's *Memoirs*. There are other engraved portraits by Ponce, Vangelisty, &c. James Duke of Berwick, was born at Moulins in 1670, and killed at the siege of Philipsburg in 1734.

The Rev. E. Kell, F.S.A., exhibited a watch seal of brass of the first half of the seventeenth century, found in digging in a garden in Grosvenor-square, Southampton. The face is incised with a round shield charged with the letters *J. II. H.*, ensigned by a ducal (?) coronet, and flanked by laurel branches.

Mr. Kell further contributed a leaden dump rather larger than a halfpenny, found in the Castle grounds, Southampton, and bearing on one side a large profile bust to the right, and on the other the effigy of a cock. Mr. H. Syer Cuming stated that the device on this piece indicated that it was cast for the purpose of shying at leaden cocks at Shrovetide, a juvenile game long since obsolete, and which was a

mimic of the *manly* sport of *cock-spoiling*, or throwing at the living bird, the dump being the equivalent of the *cockstole*, or stick. Dumps for this game are of no great rarity, but the leaden capon, biddy, or cock has become very scarce. Mr. Cuming, however, exhibited a small but perfect example recovered from the Thames in 1855, and the stand with rudiments of the two feet and tail of a larger specimen, also obtained from the Thames in 1846. In Hone's *Every-day Book* (i, 253, 254), under the head of "shying at leaden cocks" may be found several interesting particulars relating to these casts.

Mr. C. Brent exhibited three objects in pewter lately found in the Steelyard: 1st, lower part of a sheath resembling the examples described at p. 81 *ante*; 2nd, sign of "our Lady," a demi-figure of the Virgin crowned and sceptred, accompanied by the infant Jesus; both resting within the crescent moon of the Apocalypse (xii, 1); 3rd, the *appliqué* ornament of a relic frame. Round the circular opening is the legend, "*Ave Maria gratia plena*," each word being divided by an acorn. Above is a singular device, two winged human-headed dragons holding a frame-saw between them, with which they are dividing a heart. This group is ensigned by an open crown; the rest of the ornament is rich tabernacle-work. Date, late fourteenth century. A further exhibition by Mr. Brent was the upper part of a little skeleton admirably wrought in white metal. It was purchased of a man who said that, as he was passing a churchyard in the City Road, he saw it fall from a cart of earth that was being carried away. The effigy, though small, is too heavy for suspension about the person; and probably constituted one in a group of a "Dance of Death," a work of the sixteenth century. This relic is a valuable addition to the *memento mori* tokens already described in this *Journal* (xvi, 344; xvii, 69).

Mr. Taylor transmitted a fine and well-made spear-blade of grey flint, five inches and three-quarters long and two inches and three-eighths across the widest part. On either side, about two inches from the base, are two slight notches to receive the thong by which the blade was bound into the split end of the oaken shaft. This weapon was found at Norton, near Daventry, Northampton, Aug. 1863, and is an exact counterpart to one exhumed at Carshalton, Surrey, engraved in Skelton's *Meyrick* (xlii, 5).

Mr. S. Wayland Kershaw made the following communication on an ancient tomb in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: "During the restorations now being carried forward in St. Patrick's Cathedral there has been discovered the tomb of an ecclesiastic beneath the stone-work of the high altar; and which, from its style of art, may fairly be assigned to the first half of the thirteenth century. The tomb is of great length, wrought of soft and rather dark coloured stone; the recumbent effigy being that of a man with shaven crown, hands reverently folded, and

clothed in a dalmatic reaching to the knees, beneath which is seen the alb, both garments being sculptured in long folds. The tomb is placed on firm masonry only a short distance from the ground, whilst the arch above is built so close to the figure that the greatest care is required to avoid striking the head against it when bending over to examine the carving. On October 10, 1863, the interesting ceremony of opening this ancient sepulchre took place in the presence of Mr. Guinness, his architect, and a few other persons, and on removing a portion of the upper middle part the skeleton of the inmate was seen in good preservation, but nothing was found to indicate either his name or rank. That he must have been an ecclesiastic of much consequence seems certified by his place of burial beneath the high altar; and our thoughts naturally turn towards John Comyn, the first English archbishop of Dublin, who erected the cathedral in 1191; and to William Fitzguy, the first dean of St. Patrick; but in the total absence of emblem and letters on the tomb, we have scarcely ground even for conjecture as to who the individual was whose ashes have lately been brought to light after an interment of upwards of six hundred years." The foregoing remarks were accompanied by well executed drawings of the effigy with its low vaulting, a Norman window, and a portion of the west aisle of the cathedral.

Mr. S. W. Kershaw also exhibited four MSS., of the reigns of Edward I, II, and IV. He remarked that the above chiefly related to grants of land, and were remarkable as examples of beautiful caligraphy. No. 1 bears the date of 1479, and is a grant of land at Luton to William Durnand. No. 2, a grant of land to Michael de Hubetone, in the parish of Luyton, in the hamlet of Westhide.

Mr. S. Wood exhibited a silver badge or ticket rather above two inches and one-eighth high, and weighing twelve pennyweights forty-four grains. It bears in relief a three-quarter bust of Shakespeare, evidently derived from the Stratford monument. It is included within a cartouch border, across the lower part of which is a label upon which is scratched the date 1557. This date is repeated in the otherwise void back. The general aspect of this badge will not permit its assignment to an earlier period than the reign of George II.

Mr. George Vere Irving exhibited two objects of jet from Lanarkshire,—one being the half of a broad ring, concave on the outside, and convex within, which gives it the aspect of the mouth of a small vase; found April 8, 1864, at Auchlochlan, Lesmahagow, in the locality where spear-heads of bronze and early vessels have been discovered;—the other, found in the garden of Newton House, is a four-sided bead, the faces incised with eyelet-holes. A bangle of the same substance, met with in Biggar, is engraved in the *Journal* (xvii, 112).

The Rev. J. H. Pollexfen, M.A., laid before the meeting some Roman

antiquities dug up a few days since at Colchester. A cinerary urn of the ordinary jar-shape, eight inches and one-eighth in width, six inches and three-quarters in height, and seven inches and five-eighths across the mouth, was found in the cemetery near the Lexden Road. It was filled with earth, which had probably fallen in, and among which were several articles. A small urn or cup of grey terra-cotta, remarkable for its thinness and unusual contour, which may be compared with a vessel figured in the *Journal* (ii, p. 134, fig. 2). With it was also a very fine and perfect mirror perforated around with circular holes, like to that also engraved in the *Journal* (v, 138); a bronze key; several pieces of glass of a green colour, three of which appear to have once been a twisted hair-pin with a button at each end, and to have been distorted by the action of fire; two dice, the larger one having a plug, and the interior showing a groove on the side opposite the six, as though it had been loaded with a metal wire; a small glass lachrymatory; and spiral rods of blue and white glass. Mr. Pollexfen also described a rare medalion of glass, resembling in some degree those employed by the Romans as decorations to costly vessels, the idea of which was long retained by the Venetian craftsmen of the middle ages.

Mr. Augustus Goldsmid, F.S.A., exhibited a beautiful *misericorde* of the middle of the sixteenth century. The ponderous hilt of chiseled iron, parcel-gilt, displays boldly designed masks and other devices; among which, on one side of the deflected cross-guard, is a lion rampant between the incised letters V. E. The highly ridged blade is full of small perforations to contain poison, and closely resembles that of a *misericorde* of the time of Elizabeth, given in Skelton's *Meyrick* (cxiii, 14), which has, however, the addition of serrated edges.

Mr. Goldsmid further produced a Highland claymore, the hilt and blade of different periods, but well fitted together. The fist-guard and pommel are of the time of Charles I, wrought of chiseled iron, with scrolls, figures, etc. The long finely tempered blade has three channels on each side; each channel stamped with the maker's name, ANDREA FERARA. In Skelton's *Meyrick* (ciii, 2) is a coutelas of the early part of the sixteenth century, with ANDREA FERARA stamped on the channeled blade; and it is there noted that, "at the close of this century and beginning of the next, blades of this maker became highly prized in Scotland, and whenever procured were fitted with basket-hilts." An Andrea Ferrara blade with fist-guard of the time of James II, is given in Skelton (lxv, 16); and Mr. J. B. Greenshields mentions¹ several weapons by this maker still preserved in Scotland.

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited a dagger of the time of Elizabeth, lately recovered from the Thames opposite the Temple. The ends of the cross-guard are deflected towards the blade, and it has a small ring

¹ *Annals of Lesmahago*: Edinburgh, 1864, 4to., p. 38.

projecting from one side at the grip. The blade is highly ridged down the centre on either side, and bears the motto—

“Strike and spare not,
Fight and feare not.”

Mr. Gordon Hills submitted a portion of an implement found in the moat of Desmond Castle, Adare, Ireland, the property of Lord Dunraven. Much speculation has been expended on this object, which seems to be part of the stock of a light kind of cross-bow: the cusp on the under edge bringing to mind a *latch* of the time of James I, given in Skelton's *Meegrick* (xev, 10). The convexity of the upper surface, however, favours the idea that it appertains to a prod of the seventeenth century. It is constructed of three stout *laminæ* of bone of the elk pegged together, and is of a neat fabric.

Mr. G. R. Wright exhibited a massive silver-gilt clasp of a cope, the centre being an engraved shield, charged as follows: barry of five pieces, the letters I.H.S. in base; and ensigned with an open crown or coronet. The sides are discs, one seven-eighths inches diameters, decorated with open convex foliates appliqués, each having a prominent table crystal in the middle in cloissonée setting surrounded by rays. This noble-looking clasp was purchased in Iceland and is apparently a work of the seventeenth century, though evidently a reminiscence of a much earlier period.

The Rev. J. G. Cumming, of Mellis, transmitted an impression of the signet-ring of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who died in 1555, the property of Mr. Gardiner Jackson, in whose mother's family it has been a heirloom for centuries. The trinket is of solid gold, the oval bezel graven with a shield charged as follows: Party per fess, a pale counter-charged, on the second, fourth, and sixth a griffin's head erased; no colours of course being indicated.¹ Different branches of the Gardiner family seem to have borne griffins' heads combined with other devices. Guillim gives the arms of Richard Gardiner, D.D., and Canon of Christ Church, who died 1670, as—*sable*, a chevron *ermine* between two griffin's heads erased in chief, and a cross formée in base *or*. The Gardiners of Hampshire bear—*or* on a chevron *gules* between three griffins' heads erased *azure*, two lions counter-passant of the field. The arms of Viscount Gardiner are—*argent* on a chevron *gules*, between three griffins' heads erased *azure*, an anchor crest, with a piece of cable between two lions chevron-wise *or*. Mr. Gardiner Jackson's relic is an important record of how the griffin's heads were marshaled in the Bishop's shield. Another ring,

¹ Mr. Cuming has a MS. of “The Armes of all the Mayors of London,” ending in 1710, in which the shield of Richard Gardiner of Exning, Suffolk, 1478, is delineated as, per fess *argent* and *sable*, a pale countercharged, but without the griffins' heads.



which belonged to Stephen Gardiner, and was found in his coffin in Winchester Cathedral, is in the possession of the Dean of Winchester. It is of gold, set with an oval plasma, on which is engraved in intaglio a profile head of Minerva, on either side of the bezel is a square faceted ornament set with small rubies.

Mr. Burgess exhibited a circular box of silver, about an inch and five-eighths in diameter and three-quarters of an inch deep. On the cover is engraved a tulip, and the interior of the box bears four stamps, viz., the leopard's head, the lion, the initial (the assay letter for the year 1686-7), and a heart-shaped shield charged with R. S. and a star, indicating the box to be the work of Richard Stayley, a goldsmith of Covent-garden. This box was exhumed some six years since near Deptford Creek.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming produced a silver box bearing the same stamps and similar in all respects to Mr. Burgess' specimen, save that the tulip on the cover is larger, and not included in a circle. On the underside of the bottom of the box is engraved the letters A. K.

Mr. E. Roberts announced that he had received a communication and a sketch from the Rev. H. Simpson, Rector of Adel, in Yorkshire, giving a description of the sculptured stone in the foundation of the church (*vide* p. 64 *ante*), and has since been taken out. It is sculptured on both sides, and is supposed by Mr. Simpson to represent the sun on one side and the moon and its quarters on the other. A request has been made for either the stone or casts to be sent for exhibition and examination.

Mr. E. Roberts gave an account of the mediæval discoveries recently made at Guildhall while pulling down the upper portion for the purpose of restoring the roof. These consist of the doorways and part of the walls of the turrets, of Reigate firestone; the various building stones which had been used by Sir Christopher Wren on adding to the walls after the great fire, and amongst which were chalk, Reigate stone, Ketton stone, Tadcaster; amongst these were many arch stones, which had induced Mr. Charles Baily to think that the hall had originally had stone ribs from pillar to pillar, as at Mayfield. Mr. Roberts said he had, in consequence, carefully examined these materials, and found that they had belonged to a vaulted building, for every stone was rebated on both sides, and one stone was a four-way key-stone with the four ribs showing; he therefore differed from Mr. Baily, and stated that the stone had been used indiscriminately from adjacent buildings after the fire. After pulling down a considerable portion of the gables, part of the original walls was uncovered, and a small portion of the coping, with the projection chopped off, and some tiles (which he had not seen) are said to have been found in the wall immediately under the coping. In the walls were several pieces of melted lead which had run in at the time of the fire. A plain gargoyle

was found in the north wall. One of the side windows had been opened, and showed a two-light good early perpendicular window. It had been concealed inside and out with Roman cement, as are all the other side windows by the cement panelling of a century since.

He referred to the drawing of the ancient roof, as given by Smith in *Ancient Carpentry*, and, after adverting to the absence of the power to draw mediæval works till within the last fifty years, showed how Smith's drawing might be erroneous in principle. The Report of Mr. Digby Wyatt and himself to the Corporation of London on this subject was laid on the table, but he had no hand in the sketch bearing Mr. Wyatt's initial, which purported to show what the original of Smith's roof might have been; nor in the drawing signed by the city architect, and he expressed his fears that if that was to be taken as the basis of the contemplated restoration, the Corporation would not only be disappointed, but the work would be as far removed from a restoration as if they had carried out the ideas of the late City Architect, as it was in opposition to every principle of mediæval construction.¹

Mr. Clarence Hopper read the following paper:—

“ON CLOCKS AND WATCHES BELONGING TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

“The introduction of watches into this country, and a catalogue of the early English watchmakers, is yet an unwritten chapter in our history.² It is supposed that, as a continental invention of time-keeping, they found their way into England about the reign of King Henry the Eighth, but did not come generally into use until the time of Elizabeth, and then only amongst the more fashionable and wealthy members of society.

“Some of the watches introduced at this date were of an oval shape, and, coming from Nuremberg, bore the appellation of Nuremberg eggs. Others, retaining the oblong shape, were octangular, but they soon after appeared in a more modified and convenient shape, the round but thick, heavy time-keepers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These were more highly ornamented than our present watches; some of elaborate pierced work, others studded with precious stones, or highly finished with pictures in enamel both on the inner and outer cases, while an additional protective case covered the exterior; the bow was a swivel, so that it might readily be turned whilst hanging at the girdle, to examine the time. As the manufacture became more developed, they were made much smaller, so as to be set

¹ For an account of Guildhall, see *Journal*, vol. viii, pp. 83-94.

² By a French author who wrote a treatise entitled *L'Excellence de l'Horlogerie*, published at Geneva, 1689. The invention of portable watches is attributed to the Chinese; thence to have been introduced into Germany and France, and so into our own country.

in the heads of walking-sticks, the clasp of a bracelet, or worn as a ring or pendant, and enriched with the most costly jewels.

"The Clockmakers' Company have formed a small collection illustrative of the different arts of watch-work, and, in a few antiquarian collections, may be seen unique specimens of the earliest watches known to be extant.

"I remember to have examined with much interest one in the *atelier* of Mr. Roskell, an eminent goldsmith in Liverpool. It was quite a hobby of the elder Mr. Roskell to collect specimens of ancient watch-work, and to put them in going order. Amongst them I recollect to have seen one in the shape of a small death's head of silver, with a ring in the summit of the skull, for suspension by the girdle, the lower jaw opening to examine the dial; also a watch said to have belonged to one of the pilgrim fathers, perhaps an appendage to one of the emigrants in the Mayflower, found in the backwoods of America. Another of most elaborate workmanship, having three massive cases all in gold, each case highly embellished with chasing and figures in relieve, the outer case having been originally studded with large diamonds round the rim, but at this time deficient.

"From the absence of any wills of watchmakers in the Elizabethan period and the commencement of the reign of James I, I think a conclusive inference may be drawn, that at first the watch was an imported article, and that afterwards the artists employed in constructing them were exclusively foreign, who found it doubtless a lucrative occupation in this country. At any rate, the earliest work at all upon the subject is as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, and not until the close did Denham publish his work upon horology, which went through many editions, entitled the *Artificial Clockmaker*.

"Had watches been an article of common wear, one would oftener have anticipated the finding some mention of them in wills or bequests to favourite relatives or friends. The earliest testamentary mention of a watch that I am aware of occurs in the will of Archbishop Parker, which is written in Latin, and bears date April 5, 1575, wherein he makes the following bequest to the Bishop of Ely:—

"'I give to my reverend brother Richard, Bishop of Ely, my stick of Indian cane which hath a watch in the top of it.'

"Thomas Humminges, citizen and barber surgeon of London, in his will, proved 1608, bequeaths 'to my sister Johns my brasse watch gilded within with gold, and a case to it gilded likewise.'

"Phillip Skippon, will proved 1660, makes a bequest of 'my great silver watch with the clock and the silver chain thereat.'

"Amongst the new year's gifts to Queen Elizabeth, in the fourteenth year of her reign, is one given to her by the Earl of Leicester, described as 'one armelett or shekell of gold all over fairly garnished with rubies

and diamonds, having in the closing thereof a clock, and in the forepart of the same a fair lozengie diamond, without a foyle, hanging thereat; a round jewell fully garnished with diamonds and a pearl pendant weighing 11 oz. qrt. di and farthing gold weight. In a case of purple velvet all over embrodered with Venise gold and lined with green velvet.'

"In the same year we find another, thus described:—

"Item, a juell being a crysollote garnished with gold flagon fashion, the one side sett with two emeraldes, the one of them a little cracked, three diamonds and two sparkes of turquesses; thother side having in it a clocke, a border about the same flagon of golde garnished with viij table rubies and four diamonds, the foot garnished with four small poynted diamonds and 12 sparkes of rubyes and four very little pearles pendant with three great perles also pendente. The mouth of the said flagon made with five pillars, a man standing thereon, and every pillar set with a little diamond, a little emerald and little ruby and 6 little perles upon the same pillars; the same flagon hangeth at a chain of gold having iiij knotts with two small diamonds, the peece also hanging at a knobbe having three little sparkes of diamonds and three very little perles.'

"In the 20th of Elizabeth, presented her by the Earl of Leicester: A tablet of gold, being a clock fully furnished with diamonds and rubyes about the same, 6 bigger diamonds pointed, and a pendant of gold diamonds and rubies very small, and upon each side a losengie diamond and an appell of golde enameled green and russett.

"In the 23rd of her reign, also presented to her by the Earl of Leicester, Master of the Horse: A chayne of gold made like a pair of beades containing 8 long pieces fully garnished with small diamonds and four score and one smaller pieces fully garnished with like diamonds, and hanging thereat a round clocke fullie garnished with diamondes and an appendant of diamonds hanging thereat.

"In the same year, presented to the Queen by the Lord Russell: Item, a watche set in mother of pearle with three pendants of gold garnished with sparkes of rubies and an opall in everie of them and three small pearls pendent.

"Also, in the same year, the gift of Mr. Edward Stafford a little clocke of gould with a crystall garnished with sparkes of small diamonds, sparkes of rubies and sparkes of emeralds, and furnished on the backside with other diamonds, rubies, and other stones of small value.

"In the 20th of Elizabeth, presented by the Lord Russell: A ring of golde, called a paramadas, sett with vj small diamonds, and garnished round about with small rubies and two sparcks of ophalls, and in the same backside a dyall.

"The following is an inventory taken from an authentic record of the watches and clocks in the possession of Queen Elizabeth:

"QUEEN ELIZABETH'S CLOCKS AND WATCHES.

"Item a watche of golde sett with small rubies, small diamondes, and small emerodes, with a pearle in the toppe called a buckett, wantinge two rubies.

"Item a clocke of golde conteyninge in the border four table diamondes and two very small rocke rubies, havinge on thone side foure table rubies and sixe small diamondes; and on thother side eleven table diamondes, whereof the one is more bigger then the residue. On the one side a man sitting aslepe with a childe before him.

"Item a clocke or tablett of golde garnished on th'one side with five faire diamondes and one faier rubie; and on th'other side five faier rubies and one faier emerod garnished with liij litle diamondes and liij litle rubies, with a pearle pendant at it.

"Item one clocke of golde curiously wrought and fullie furnished with diamondes, rubies, emerodes, and opalls, havinge in the middes thereof a beare and a ragged staffe of sparkes of diamondes and rubies.

"Item one clock of gold curiously wrought with flowers and beastes with a queene on the toppe on th'one side; and on the other side a beare and a ragged staff of sparkes of diamonds, fullie furnished with diamonds and rubies of sundry sortes and bignes; one emerode under it, a faier table diamond with a ragged staff in the foyle thereof, and a faier rubie under it squared; and a pearle pendaunt on either side of the clocke.

"Item one clocke of golde wrought like deyses and paunseyes, garnished with little sparkes of diamonds, rubies, and emerodes, and eight small pearles on the border, and a pendant acorne.

"Item one clocke of gold curiously wrought with small sparkes of stones, having on th'one side a horse bearing a globe with a crowne over it.

"Item one clocke of golde with a George on both sides, garnished with sparkes of diamondes and a pendant of opalls.

"Item a litle watche of christall slightly garnished with golde.

"Item one litle clocke of golde, th'one side being agate with a mouse on the toppe and heddes round about it.

"Item one litle watche of golde garnished on the border with very small sparkes of rubies and emerodes with christall on both sides, and a pearle pendant garnished with golde like a flesh-flye.

"Item one rounde clocke of golde enameled with a man on horsebacke, and divers colors aboute it.

"Item a watche of golde garnished with three small diamondes and eight sparkes of rubies, with a very litle pearle.

“‘Item one litle clocke of golde enameled of the History of Time.

“‘Item a litle watche of golde, th’one side with a frogge on the topp, th’other side garnished with small garnets like a pomegranate.

“‘Item one litle clocke sett in eliotropic and garnished with golde.

“‘Item a litle watche of golde enameled with sundry colors on both sides alike.

“‘Item a litle watche of christall slightlie garnished with golde, with her Ma’ties picture in it.

“‘Item one diall of christall slightly garnished with golde.

“‘Item one faier flower of golde fully garnished with rubies and diamondes enameled on the backside with a man and a scripture aboute him, having a watche in it and a pearl pendant.

“‘Item one flower of golde fully garnished with emerods of sondrie bignes, and sparkes of emerods and rubies, with three antique women and five litle perles with a watche or clocke therein.

“‘Item a watche of agatte made like an egg garnished with golde.

“‘Item one clocke garnished with golde, beinge round and sett with 6 table diamondes and 6 rubies in the same border, and garnished with xvij diamondes on th’one side and 8 diamonds and one rubie on th’other side lacking two pearles.

“‘Item an hower glass sett in golde with 6 emerods, 3 turquesses, two rubies, and xv small diamondes with 6 perles.’

“Shakespeare makes allusion to watches more than once in the *Tempest*. He makes Sebastian to say, “Look! he is winding up the watch of his wit, and by and by it will strike.” In *Twelfth Night*,—“I frown the while, and perchance wind up my watch, or play with some rich jewel.” Again,—“Since when my watch hath told me toward my grave I have travelled but two hours.” And in *Henry the Fourth*,—“And leav’st the kingly couch a watch-case or a common ‘larum-bell.”

The Association then adjourned to Wednesday November 23rd.

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 23.

GEORGE GODWIN, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman addressed the meeting upon the success of the late Congress at Ipswich, and the great attention paid by the President, George Tomline, Esq., M.P., by which the objects of the Association had been fully carried out. He adverted also to the losses the Society had sustained during the vacation by the decease of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.; Hudson Gurney, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; and the Right Hon. Thomas Erskine; obituary notices of whom would be laid before the annual meeting.

The following associates were elected :

- His Grace the Duke of Cleveland, Raby Castle
 Lord Henniker, M.P., Grafton-street
 Hon. and Rev. Fred. De Grey, Copdock Rectory, Suffolk
 Hugh E. Adair, Esq., M.P., Ipswich
 Rev. E. C. Alston, M.A., Dennington Rectory, Wickham Market
 George C. E. Bacon, Esq., Ipswich
 Rev. Henry Canham, B.C.L., Waldingfield, Woodbridge
 C. H. E. Carmichael, Esq., Trin. Coll., Oxon.
 John C. Cobbold, Esq., M.P., Ipswich
 F. Corrance, Esq., Parham Hall, Suffolk
 F. M. Drummond Davies, Esq., Middle Temple
 Rev. Albert Cook Daymond, College, Framlingham
 Mark Dewsnap, Esq., M.A., Barnes Common
 J. P. Fitzgerald, Esq., Boulye Hall, Woodbridge
 Rowland Fothergill, Esq., Hensol Castle, near Cowbridge, Glamorganshire
 William Gilstrap, Esq., Fornham Hall, Bury St. Edmunds
 Augustus Goldsmid, Esq., F.S.A., Essex Court, Temple
 Edward Grimwade, Esq., Henley-road, Ipswich
 John Hodgson Hinde, Esq., Stetting Hall, Stocksfield
 Rev. H. A. Holden, D.C.L., Ipswich
 Captain Horrex, 11, Royal Crescent, Notting Hill
 William P. Hunt, Esq., Ipswich
 John Johnston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne
 John Kelk, Esq., 80, Eaton Square
 Hector McLean, Esq., Carnworth House, Carnworth, Lancashire
 Wellwood Maxwell, Esq., M.A., Glenlee Park, near Gallo-
 way, N.B.
 Rev. Thomas Mills, M.A., Stutton Rectory, Suffolk
 The Venerable Archdeacon T. J. Ormerod, M.A., Rendenhall
 Rectory, Harleston
 Rev. William Purton, M.A., Stottesdon, near Bewdley
 S. Wilton Rix, Esq., Beccles
 Rev. J. P. Sill, M.A., Wetheringsett, Suffolk
 Captain Wardell, Albemarle Street
 Robert Webb, Esq., 6, Manor Terrace, East India Road
 Godfrey Wentworth, Esq., Woolley Park, Wakefield
 Sterling Westhorp, Esq., Ipswich

PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

From the Institution. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Vol.
 xiii, 4to. Washington, 1864.

- From the Institution.* Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. Vol. v. 8vo. Washington, 1864.
- „ „ Smithsonian Report for 1862. 8vo. Washington, 1863.
- From the Society.* Reports and Papers of the Architectural Societies of the County of York, Diocese of Lincoln, Archdeaconry of Northampton, County of Bedford, Diocese of Worcester, and County of Leicester. 1863. 8vo. Vol. vii, Part 1. Lincoln.
- „ „ Sussex Archæological Collections. Vol. xvi. 8vo. Sussex, 1864.
- „ „ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, London. Vol. i, No. 8; Vol. ii, Nos. 1 to 5. 8vo. London, 1861-3.
- „ „ Proceedings of the Royal Society. Nos. 65-68. 8vo. London, 1864.
- „ „ Archæologia Cambrensis. Nos. 39 and 40. 8vo. London, 1864.
- „ „ Lordship of Gower in the Marches of Wales from the Cambrian Archæological Association, by G. G. Francis. Supplemental vol. London, 1864. 8vo.
- From the Institute.* The Canadian Journal. Nos. 52, 53. Toronto, 1864. 8vo.
- „ „ The Archæological Journal. Nos. 80, 81, 82. 1863-4. Lond. 8vo.
- From the Museum.* Report of the Architectural Museum for 1863-4. 8vo.
- From the Society.* Journal of the Royal Dublin Society. No. 31. Dublin, 1864. 8vo.
- From the Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine for July, August, Sept., Oct., and Nov., 1864. 8vo.
- From the Commission.* Rapport sur l'Activité de la Commission Impériale Archéologique en 1862. St. Petersburg. 4to.
- From the Authors.* The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire. The Archæological Section by G. Vere Irving; the Statistical and Topographical by Alexander Murray. 3 vols. 8vo. Glasgow, 1864.
- From Mrs. Kerr.* La Seine Inférieure, Historique et Archéologique. Par M. l'Abbé Cochet. Paris, 1864. 4to.
- From the Author.* On the Golden Armille in the Museum of the Kent Archæological Society. By Edw. Pretty, F.S.A. 8vo.
- „ „ On some Peculiar Features in the Ecclesiastical Sculptured Decorations of the Middle Ages. By Mr. Page Smith. Lond., 1864. 12mo.
- „ „ Reminiscences connected with Oak Paneling now at Gungrog. By Morris Chas. Jones. Welshpool, 1864.
- „ „ Notes respecting the Family of Waldo. By the same.
- From Dr. Lee.* Ancient Biblical Chronograms. By W. H. Black. Lond., 1864. 8vo.

- From the Author.* Waifs and Strays of North Humber History. By the Rev. Scott F. Surtees. Lond., 1864. 12mo.
- „ „ The Teutonic Name-System. By R. Ferguson. Lond., 1864. 8vo.
- „ „ A Corner of Kent. By J. R. Planché, Esq. Lond., 1864. 8vo.

Mr. T. Wright, F.S.A., exhibited some pieces of Greek Samian ware from Tarsus in Cilicia, and pointed out their exact resemblance to the red Samian pottery of the Romans found in Britain and Gaul. He also read a letter from Mr. James Thompson of Leicester, announcing that, under the direction of the Leicestershire Society, important excavations had been commenced at the mass of Roman masonry in that town, known as the “Jewry Wall.”

Mr. Syer Cuming laid before the meeting a variety of pseudo-antiques, cast in cock-metal, and repeated his caution to the members on the frauds continued to be practised on an extensive scale. Those previously referred to were of lead, but their sale has been greatly checked by the notices given in this *Journal*. It would appear that in 1863 the old plaster of Paris moulds, with others, have been employed to produce articles in a different material. Cock-metal is composed of two parts copper and one part lead, and melts at a low degree of temperature. Mr. Cuming exhibited various specimens—spear-heads, daggers, medallions, thumb-rings, socketed celts, &c., and some of which have been moulded from originals.

Dr. Brushfield to the Treasurer:—

“Cheshire Asylum, Nov. 1, 1864.

“In vol. xix of the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association is an extremely interesting article by Mr. Wright on “Roman Engraved Stones found at Uriconium; and believing that a notice of similar intaglios, discovered at another Roman station, may be of interest to the Association, I enclose impressions of six which have been discovered at various times at the station of Petriana, on the great north wall of Hadrian. They came under my notice in the early part of the year, when they were exhibited during a lecture on the Roman wall, delivered before our local Archæological Society, by the Rev. E. R. Johnson, one of the Minor Canons of Chester Cathedral, whose father owns the estate on which the station of Petriana is situated, the station itself having been the site of a kitchen garden for many years to his residence, Walton House, and in the course of the ordinary delving operations these intaglios, with many other miscellaneous antiquities, have been discovered.

“No. 1 is an excellent specimen of a Gnostic seal. It is engraved on a sardonyx, and represents a bearded head helmeted, the helmet terminating in a hand resembling one figured in plate 13 of Walsh's

Essay on Ancient Coins, &c. At the back is the head of an animal, like a ram minus the horn, from the upper part of which issues a serpent. These two last, taken conjointly, have a strong resemblance to the head of an antlered stag. The whole is borne on two birds' legs. In Mr. S. Cuming's paper on 'Gnostic Amulets,' in vol. viii of the *Journal*, occurs the following description of a seal very similar to this:—"One fancy," he says, "was to form a bird-like creature, by combining together the neck and head of a horse, the head of a ram for the rump, and the pouting breast, consisting of a human mask, the face of a person suffering under disease; the legs were those of the ibis.' This seal now exhibited was found in 1799.

"No. 2. A Gnostic seal engraved on a sardonyx, found in 1817, represents a cross, the upper limb of which consists of a profiled head, whilst the termination of the others are flattened out. Springing from the base on either side is a palm branch. It was found in its original setting, and when first discovered presented all the appearances of a plain signet-ring, but some time afterwards the stone became detached from its setting, and then only was it ascertained that the back of it was engraved. In the late Mr. T. C. Croker's *Catalogue of Rings, &c.*, in the possession of Lady Londesborough, No. 149 is the agate setting of a Gnostic ring, the front of which has the figure of an Abraxas, whilst the back part is engraved with cabalistic characters.

"No. 3. A winged nude dancing figure, holding in one hand fruit(?). The seal is of red composition, and was found in 1854, and is the best specimen of the whole series.

"No. 4. Also of red composition. A semi-draped male figure in profile, bearing on his shoulders a crook, to which is suspended a garment and a small animal (rabbit or hare?). It was found in 1846.

"No. 5. The most rudely-engraved of the series; apparently a male figure in profile, bearing in either hand an implement or weapon. Can it be a rude figure of Mercury with his caduceus? It was found in 1862, and is engraved on 'Glasparten.'

"No. 6, found in 1852, and engraved on bloodstone, represents a *quadriga* with human figure, and is very similar to one represented in a mediæval setting in C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iv, pl. 19.

"The originals are, I believe, still in Mr. Johnson's possession. The most interesting of them are, undoubtedly, the Gnostic seals (both of which were found set in rings), comparatively few of which have been found in England, although common on the Continent; and yet the fact of finding two of this class at a small station at the extreme limit of the Roman dominions, will serve to shew the general prevalence of the Gnostic heresy. The identification of them with the site is, therefore, of especial value.

"Some of them have been engraved, but give very imperfect repre-

sentations; for instance, in Bruce's *Wallet-Book of the Roman Wall* (at p. 234) is an engraving of the two Gnostic seals, the representation of No. 1 giving no idea of the peculiarities of the original, whilst that of No. 2 shows a rude ornament in place of the profiled head.

"With these I also send the impression of a Gnostic seal in my possession, the peculiarity of which is the helmeted covering being formed of a duplicated head; the Chimæra being composed of four human heads without the introduction of any other animal form.

"*P.S.*—In vol. iv of the *Journal* (at p. 316) is an engraving of 'a gold Roman ring with an intaglio in onyx of Jupiter Serapis, found between 1710 and 1720 at Wroxeter,' which Mr. Wright does not mention in his paper.

Lord Boston exhibited a portrait of Henrietta Maria, a painting in oil upon paper, spread on an oval panel eight inches high by six inches and a half wide, attributed to Sir Peter Lely, but bearing a close resemblance to one of Vandyck's pictures of the queen. It represents the royal lady to the waist, turning somewhat to the left; the complexion inclining to dark, with a slight blush on the cheeks; the lips full and ruddy; the hair a deep brown, and arranged, as usual, in curls over the forehead. The back hair is wreathed with pearls; a circle of the same is about the neck, and pearls also depend from the ears. The white satin dress is made so as to greatly expose the bosom, and has a lozenge-shaped jewel in front, and jewelled buttons confine the sleeves. Across the right shoulder is cast a deep amber coloured scarf. This picture is believed to have been presented by the queen to Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, whose daughter, Frances, married William Paget, Earl of Uxbridge; and, by the alliance of Sir Edward Irby with the Lady Dorothy Paget, it, with other regal gifts and mementoes, passed into the possession of Lord Boston's ancestor.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited an old and rather scarce etching, "printed for R. Wilkinson, No. 58, Cornhill," entitled "THE MARRIAGE OF THE KING," in which Cardinal Richelieu is represented uniting the hands of the Duc de Chevreuse (proxy for Charles I) and Henrietta Maria, whose train is supported by a boy holding the torch of Hymen. Behind the duke stand the Earls of Holland and Carlisle and two other gentlemen; the opposite side of the piece being occupied by a group of ladies, etc., and the steps of the altar in front are strewn with flowers. This plate explains the intimacy of the queen with the Earl of Holland, which was so suddenly broken in 1641.

Mr. J. R. Planché, Hon. Sec., read a paper on "The Nine Worthies of the World." (See pp. 315-324).

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 14.

JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were elected associates :

William Whincopp, Esq., Woodbridge
 Rev. Thomas Finch, B.A., Morpeth
 John Harker, M.D., Lancaster.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

- To the Society.* Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 69, 1864. 8vo.
 „ „ Proceedings of the Kilkenny and S.E. of Ireland Archaeological Society. No. 44, April 1864. 8vo.
To the Publisher. The Gentleman's Magazine for Dec. 1864. 8vo.
To the Author. Canadian Archaeology. By Stanley C. Bragg. Montreal, 1864. 8vo.
 „ „ Archæologia Americana. By the same. 1864. 8vo.

Mr. Bedder exhibited a bronze statuette of Mars, three inches high, said to have been found in London. It wears a helmet representing the head and neck of a cock,—a bird sacred to the god of war. The arms, legs, and feet, are nude ; but the body is protected by a *lorica* moulded to the form of the person, and below it is a *cinctus*, or kilt, falling scarcely half way down the thighs. The surface of the bronze is slightly eroded. Mr. H. Syer Cuming considered it to be of early Etruscan fabric, and produced a Mars equipped in like manner, and closely resembling it in *pose*, with the exception of the right arm, which is more elevated, and probably in the act of casting a spear. The left hand has grasped a *clipeus*. This finely patinated effigy measures three inches and a half in height, and was found in Italy previous to 1854, in which year it was added to Mr. Cuming's collection. An Etruscan Mars of still ruder workmanship than the foregoing, found in Somersetshire, is engraved in this *Journal* (xviii, 394).

Dr. Kendrick exhibited an ancient axle-tree found at Haydock, and Mr. Cuming a bone washer of a wheel from the Thames ; both of which will be figured and described in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. Warren exhibited a variety of fibulæ, &c., from Suffolk, which will appear in a future number.

Mr. Carmichael called attention to a legend in Irish characters on the square base of a cross, which, with several other relics, is set up in the sloping bank of the plantation through which the House of Friars' Carse is approached. None of the antiquities there are thought to be actually *in situ*, but are believed to have all been brought from neighbouring places in Dumfriesshire many years ago by a former owner. The inscription, which is preceded by a cross, forms a square on the upper

surface of the plinth, and the first three words are clearly ORA PRO ANIMA. The name of the person is far less distinct, but seems to be COMERGHE DE LA...H?

The Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., made the following communication :—

“During the last five or six years, in removing gravel, sand, and clay from the lower declivity of the hill leading into Old Shirley from New Shirley, Hants, the labourers, for a space of ground of from 400 to 500 yards square, have been continually meeting with skeletons of different ages and sexes. This has been more particularly observed within the last year or two, when a large quantity of clay and sand was required for the erection of the large washhouses and icehouse situated on the opposite side of the road of the West India Company. During this removal between 100 and 200 skeletons have been disinterred, some of which were placed one above the other. There were neither coffins, nor signs of clothes. The larger part of the ground was till lately covered with trees. I have reason to conjecture that this burial-place must have been the cemetery of the old church of Shirley, which, according to Wilkes’ *History of Hampshire*, was destroyed probably in the fifteenth century. The record of it in the middle of the sixteenth century being that it was “*olim destructa*.” Shirley is mentioned in *Domesday* as containing a church, a mill, and a fishery. In 1340 it was an independent parish and rectory. Its ancient boundaries are now only conjectured. The present Shirley Church is modern, and, according to the foregoing authority, New Shirley is ‘an ecclesiastical district carved out of Milbrook parish.’

“Mr. W. B. Baker, of Old Shirley, informs me that several persons have heard the late road-surveyor Osmond speak of having assisted in removing stones as building materials from this ground to Milbrook to repair Milbrook church.

“Among other things found in this cemetery were fragments of stone, a cross made of brass, a small cannon ball, and a bell. The bell, herewith exhibited, has two double rings incised round its exterior, and a good deal of silver in its composition. It was obtained by the innkeeper from the finder, who put a handle and clapper to it, and engraved on it T. J., Sherley. It is of Warner’s make, and from its fine tone may be looked upon as having formed a portion of a musical peal.”

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., called the attention of the meeting to the similarity of the appearance of the Shirley cemetery to that of Helmingham, as displayed by the Rev. G. Cardew, visited by the Association in August last, remarkable for the woody nature of the site.

Dr. Kendrick made the following communication on the discovery of Roman brine pans at Northwich, Cheshire :—

"In August last I engaged in a search at Northwich, about eleven miles from Warrington, where, in excavating for a graving-dock on the banks of the river Weaver, the workmen, at the depth of ten feet below the present surface, found at least four leaden cisterns or pans used during the Roman era for the extraction of brine from the natural salt. Unfortunately only one of the pans is now entire, the others having been broken up and sold for old metal by the workmen. One fragment which I brought away bears on it in large letters the word *DEVÆ*, most probably intended for the ancient name of Chester, and indicates that the Northwich *Salinae* belonged to that town. The perfect brine pan (now in the Warrington Museum) is of an oblong square form, being three feet five and a-half inches long, by two feet three and a-half inches in breadth, inside measure. The depth is four and a half inches, and the lead about three-eighths of an inch in thickness. It appears to have been cast in its present form, since there are no signs of its having been turned up at the corners. The upper edge is thicker than the bottom or sides, forming a rim to add strength to it. The inner surface of the bottom of the vessel is thickly scored by the teeth of a rake used to remove the dross so often deposited in the process of evaporation. Externally the bottom bears traces of a coating of soot, probably from a wood fire, as half-consumed wood was found underneath the pan when discovered. At each end of the vessel is a hole in the side, apparently for the purpose of fixing it to a wooden framework, and in one of the longest sides is an inscription, device, or numerals in relief, composed of what looks like three c's with three upright strokes on either side, thus, III CCC III, followed by a segment of a circle of cable ornament, &c."

Dr. Silas Palmer, F.S.A., Local Secretary for Berks, communicated to the Treasurer that he had been invited to view the works now being carried on at Silchester, at the expense of His Grace the Duke of Wellington, by the Rev. J. G. Joyce of Strathfieldsaye, who for the last fortnight had been actively engaged in his researches, of which a daily register is preserved, specifying all particulars as to the persons employed, the objects discovered, etc. A plan has also been made of the northern side, displaying the course of the road passing through the ancient city, dividing it into two portions. A difference in the colour of the wheat and other crops has ever shown where the original houses stood, and where the streets were marked out. The foundations of the locality are being now displayed. Some of the rooms are of considerable size, paved with common red tesserae, whilst others have alternate squares of white and red tesserae; and in one other room there was seen an imperfect floor having some centre ornament, radiating from which are portions of white tesserae forming a stellated pattern, which has unfortunately been much injured. Hitherto little to reward the

labourers, beyond some bones, nails, fragments of pottery ; flange, roof, and paving tiles (one of which bears the impression of a dog's foot) ; coins of Gratian, Constantine, Allectus, Carausius, etc., have been discovered. The work is being carried on with great care, and the diary well kept. Plans and drawings, as they become necessary, are prepared. The Duke of Wellington, to whom the property belongs, has shewn great anxiety for its perfect development ; and he has purchased the late Mr. Barton's collection, to which is to be added everything that may be found, or may be purchased from former explorers, the Duke intending to preserve a museum on the spot. Many of the antiquities belonging to Mr. Barton's collection have been already figured in this *Journal* and in the volume of the Gloucester Congress ; and the Association place every confidence in the zeal of their Local Secretary to forward to them accounts of future discoveries as they may occur.

The Rev. E. D. Bolton of Ipswich transmitted two singular vessels of red terra-cotta, of clumsy fabric ; the one of a cylindrical form, about three inches and five-eighths high, and four inches diameter at top and bottom ; the other somewhat globose, three inches and a half high, and three inches and five-eighths diameter at its greatest bulge. The first is stamped all over with what looks like a wafer-seal,—a star of eight rays within a circle ; a diamond, heart, and spade. The globose vessel with twelve perpendicular bands of the stellar device, crosses, triangles, spades, hearts, clubs, and the letters I. T., which may be the initials of the maker. Each band is divided from its neighbour by a broad line of stamping, and the interior bottom impressed with the stars. Mr. Bolton states that he obtained possession of these bizarre objects full thirty years since, in the parish of Eye, Suffolk ; but beyond this knows nothing of their history. The presence of the hearts, diamonds, spades, and clubs, is suggestive of some connexion with card-play ; and these vessels may have been employed as pools by some itinerant sharper whose tricks at rural fairs are not quite forgotten in our day.

Lord Boston exhibited a curious panegyric upon William III, written within a woodcut border, twelve feet seven-eighths of an inch high, by seven feet five-eighths wide, in the centre of the upper part of which is a disc surrounded by scroll-work, ensigned by a baron's coronet, and on either side a bold foliated scroll, including a kneeling cupid. The side-borders and base are likewise foliated scrolls upon which birds are placed, the whole design being coloured and gilt. The centre of the piece is painted a deep brown or black, and on it is inscribed the following in white and gold letters :—

“ A true encomium on King William y^e 3^d
Humbly presented to the Right Honourable
William Lord Paget, written by
Josh. . . owes late lieutenant.”

Mr. Blashill read a paper, "On Four Early English Coffin-Slabs from Herefordshire and the Border," illustrating the same by drawings of the objects. These will be referred to in a future *Journal*.

Mr. J. T. Irvine addressed a letter to Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., expressing his fears that notwithstanding the efforts that had been made by the Association, Mr. G. G. Scott, and others to preserve the ancient and interesting church of Okeford Fitz-Payne, near Blandford, Dorset, it would meet with destruction. He trusted, therefore, the Association would persevere in recommending its restoration.

The meetings were then adjourned over to Jan. 11, 1865.



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ERRATA.

Page 69, line 15, after "Bevois" add "Street."

" 69, " 17, *et passim*, for "Bradley," read "Bradby."

" 121, " 9, for "Wadesnurde," read "Wadeswurde."

" 124, " 41, *et passim*, for "Wakefend," read "Wakefeud."

" 125, " 37, 38, for "multure," read "multure."

" 129, " 46, 49, for "Duke of Rutland," read "Earl of Rutland."

" 133, " 52, for "thelonis," read "thelonii."

" 139, " 8, for "his nephew Robert," read either "his great-grandson Roger," or "his great-great-grandson Roger," according as "his" bears reference to Robert de Lacy, or his father
Ilbert de Lacy, who flourished between A.D. 1147 and 1187. The correction may be
deduced from the account of Roger de Lacy, towards the foot of page 140.

" 140, " 42, for "Arundell," read "Arundel."

" 169, " 17, for "Charles Rowntree Ainslie," read "Charles Ainslie of Rowntree."

" 183, last line, for "mackyng," read "mockyng."



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